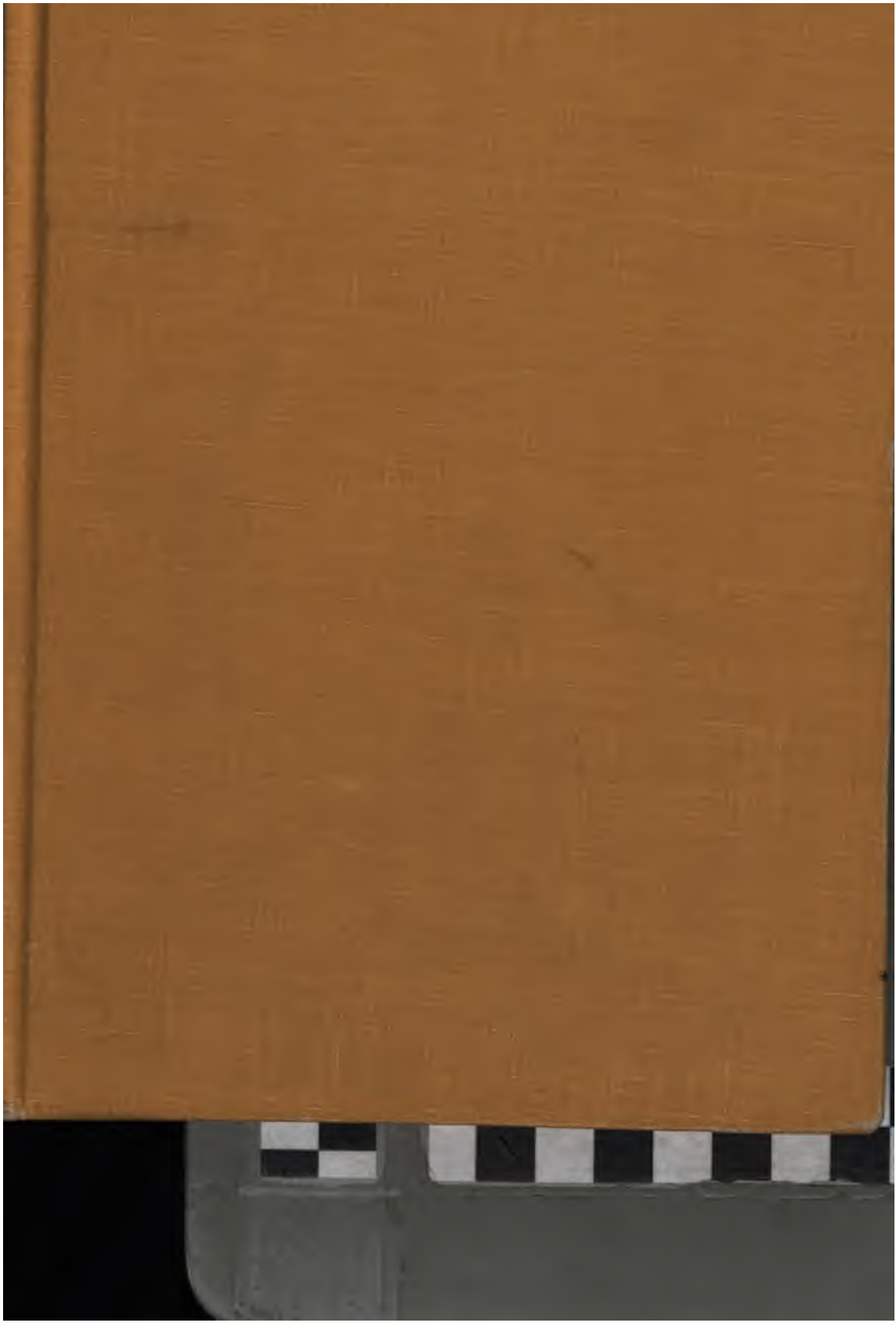

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IN MEMORY OF THEODORE L. GLASGOW.

AN OUTLINE OF UNITED STATES HISTORY

FOR USE IN THE GENERAL COURSE
IN UNITED STATES HISTORY
YALE COLLEGE

BY

RALPH H. GABRIEL
Assistant Professor of History, Yale College.

DUMAS MALONE
Instructor in History, Yale College.

FREDERICK J. MANNING
Instructor in History, Yale College.

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PREFACE

A SYLLABUS can be built up only by the method of trial and failure. Particularly is this true when it is intended for a course which departs from the conventional. This is the first and tentative edition of a syllabus that will be compiled on the basis of actual experience in using the Chronicles of America in the class room. The colonial period, which the course does not take up in detail, has been largely omitted.

R. H. G.

Berkeley Hall, Yale University,
July, 1921.

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AN OUTLINE OF UNITED STATES HISTORY

FOREWORD

AMERICAN history is the story of a most dramatic transformation. The curtain is rung up on a continent lying untouched, just as natural forces acting through millions of years of geologic history have chiseled it. It is inhabited by a few tribes of wandering Indians who traveled to it from Asia by way of Alaska no one knows when. The Indians are in the main without civilization. They live in an environment where great areas are as fertile as any in the world, where minerals are to be found in luxuriant abundance and where the climate is nowhere surpassed in stimulating productive effort. Yet the Indians are letting this priceless opportunity slip. As the play unfolds, the penalty they pay is practical annihilation.

Three thousand miles across the Atlantic in Europe is a climatic area as healthful and as stimulating as that of much of the United States. In fact, northern Europe and the Great Lake basin and northern Mississippi Valley in America are the two areas in the world where the climate most stimulates productive effort. When the American drama opens, European peoples acting under the stimulus of this climate and utilizing intelligently the rich natural resources of their environment have emerged from barbarism into civilization. They are obviously of racial stock superior to that of the Indians who had opportunities practically as great. It is they, and not the Indians, who are destined to develop the untouched continent. The plot, therefore, is to be the story of the transference of European peoples and civilization to the wild country of America. American civilization is to be based primarily on this. But we see to the west across the vast Pacific three other civilizations, in India, in China and in Japan, older than that of Europe. They seem stagnant; they are not aggressive, yet we cannot help wondering what the plot would be if the Pacific were narrow and the Atlantic broad and if these lethargic Orientals should begin taking possession of the new continent.

The area that is to be the United States stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. By either ocean lies a coast plain back of which is a mountain country. Between the two mountainous regions lies one of the world's greatest and most fertile plains. The northern half of this United-States-to-be lies in the temperate zone; the southern half approaches more and more the subtropical. Rainfall varies greatly but in general is sufficient to support a vigorous plant life. We see the Euro-

peans coming to the Atlantic coast plain. There are many different nations among them; they fuse and become Americans. They take the language and many of the customs of the most numerous among them, the English. They push westward. They adapt their lives and their habits to the mountains, the rivers, the plains and to the rainfall and the climate of the new country. They finally reach the Pacific. This is the theme of the first part of the plot. It is a story of adventure and romance, of poverty, work and great privations. It is the most tremendous territorial expansion by settlement that history records.

The reaching of the Pacific is the end of a phase. The era which comes after sees the utilization of the tremendous natural wealth to be found in the rivers, in the fields and under the surface of the earth. The United States of America with incredible swiftness becomes the greatest industrial and agricultural nation in the world. National prestige in the twentieth century is founded on this fact. This is the theme for the second part of the plot.

Europeans today are looking at this drama with us, particularly this second phase. It may be that they envy America one advantage. They have cause to, for they are split into small warring nations, founded primarily upon the isolation of one or more racial subgroups like the French or the Germans. Europeans have shown tremendous ability in building a civilization; but the whole structure is threatened by the incessant quarrels between almost a score of these nations. In the United States these same Europeans establish a nation that is the beneficiary of their civilization but that avoids their great danger. The result is not achieved without conflict. At one time the Appalachians threaten national unity; at another the broad expanse of the western plains makes New England fearful. The climax comes as a result of climatic differences. The North and South battle but the nation is saved. How changed would be our drama if America were divided into national units even as large as France! But the nation does not disintegrate and national unity brings to the United States in the twentieth century ascendency in world affairs. The child of Europe becomes, to a great extent, the dispenser of European destinies.

Across the Pacific, the Oriental peoples, Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese, stir; America turns to face them. We wonder if the plot has reached the end of another phase. We wonder if the day of Europe is passing and the great centre of world affairs shifting from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT

In studying any area of the earth's surface five factors should be taken into consideration, location, land forms, bodies of water, soils and minerals, and climate. To these five factors animals and plants adapt

themselves. Man adapts himself to the animals and plants as well as to the other factors. *The Red Man's Continent* should be studied from this point of view. The student will find it profitable to analyze the American environment with respect to each of these factors. In no other way can the true basis of American history be understood.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE, 1492-1763

FOLLOWING the discovery of America, the Atlantic displaced the Mediterranean as the chief theatre of European commercial rivalry. A group of maritime states, Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and England, rose to wealth and power and contended for supremacy. The struggle between them, which lasted in one form or another for three centuries, was not primarily for mere territory, but for precious metals, for staple-producing colonies, for markets, for trade.

Spain and Portugal were the first to profit from the discovery of the new lands in the West, and the conflict between them comprises the first episode in the story of three centuries of struggle. Neither of these was ever a colonizing nation in the sense that England came to be, or even to the same extent as France. Their main concern was for gold and silver, and the dominance of the metal-cult in their policy prevented their making extensive colonial establishments. Their interest, particularly that of Spain, was in the lands surrounding and south of the Gulf of Mexico, where the influence of their civilizations yet remains. By 1580, Portugal seemed on the point of absorption by her rival, and the struggle became that of Holland, France and England to overthrow the Spanish colossus.

This required almost a century for its accomplishment. By 1659, when the Treaty of the Pyrenees was signed, Spain had been humbled and reduced to a subordinate position, although her southern empire remained essentially intact. Predominance passed to Holland. The Dutch were not extensive colonizers, but were chiefly concerned with the carrying trade. They were the best shipbuilders and shrewdest merchants of their day, and only by force of arms were France and England able to reduce them. In the course of this struggle, which came to an end in 1675, England conquered from the Dutch what are now New York and New Jersey, and formulated the famous navigation acts against which the American colonies were later to make such successful protest.

England and France now confronted each other as the great rivals, and the duel between them promised and proved to be titanic. The conflict broke out in 1689 when William and Mary ascended the English throne, and it was not finally concluded until 1815 when Napoleon was banished to St. Helena. In America, however, the British were triumphant by 1763 when they dispossessed the French of Canada.

Both nations had extensive colonial establishments. The French made

a settlement in Acadia, now Nova Scotia, in 1604. By 1608, Quebec had been founded, and thenceforth the French spread up the St. Lawrence, along the Great Lakes and down the waterways of the Mississippi Valley. The number of actual settlers was always comparatively small; French influence was carried by fur-traders and Jesuit missionaries, and found concrete manifestation in the forts and trading-posts which dotted the inland waterways. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Louis XV claimed in continental North America an imperial domain stretching two thousand miles from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, but there were within it only 80,000 white settlers and traders. In the West Indies, there were settlements in Santo Domingo, Guadeloupe, Martinique and other islands, the revenue from whose sugar plantations served as a valuable supplement to that derived from the northern fur-trade.

The English, beginning at Jamestown in 1607, had established more than a score of colonies along the Atlantic seaboard and in the West Indies. To these, settlers had come through religious, political and economic motives, and had established comparatively compact, largely self-governing and strongly individualistic communities, which were considerably restricted, however, by the commercial regulations which England had adopted in her efforts against successive rivals. The population of the British colonies far exceeded that of the French, totaling about one and a quarter millions. France, on the other hand, occupied the stronger strategic position, and her more centralized government both at home and in the colonies permitted of more united and aggressive action. She had the stronger army, while her rival, then as subsequently, was stronger upon the sea.

The duel between these two giants, which is described in *The Conquest of New France,* can be fully understood only against the background of the earlier struggles for supremacy, which have just been outlined. It should be borne in mind that motives were predominantly economic rather than narrowly political; the struggle was for trade, staples, markets, rather than for mere territorial expansion. One closed commercial system battled against another for supremacy. The struggle as we here consider it comprised four distinct wars (see table of events for summary). In the last two of these the struggle was as much for India as North America, and there was in every case a European as well as a colonial aspect. The victory of Great Britain was due largely to the superior numbers and resources of her American colonies (see list), to the military skill of Amherst and Wolfe in America and of Clive in India, to her naval superiority, and, most of all, to the administrative genius of William Pitt. With 1763, she entered upon an imperial era, and out of her efforts to unify and coordinate her vast territories and render them more profitable arose the American rebellion which culminated in independence.

The exploration of the new world is described in *The Spanish Conquerors, Elizabethan Sea-Dogs* and *Crusaders of New France.* The early settlements are described in *Pioneers of the Old South, The Fathers of New England, Dutch and English on the Hudson* and *The Quaker Colonies.* None of these are required for the course.

French Posts and Settlements. (See map, p. 66, *The Conquest of New France,* for explorations and further details.)

1604 Acadia.
1608 Quebec.
1642 Montreal.
1701 Detroit.
1718 New Orleans.
1754 Ft. Duquesne.

English Colonization.

1st Period, 1607-40.
1607 Virginia.
1612 Bermuda.
1620 Plymouth.
1623-32 Leeward Islands.
1627 Barbadoes.
1630 Massachusetts Bay.
1634 Maryland.
1636 Rhode Island.
1636 Connecticut.
1638 New Haven.

2d Period, 1640-82.
1655 Jamaica.
1663 Carolinas (Date of charter).
1664 New York (Date of conquest from Dutch).
1664 New Jersey (Date of conquest from Dutch).
1670 Bahamas (Date of grant).
1682 Pennsylvania.

18th Century.
1732 Georgia.

French-English Wars.

1. King William's War, 1689-97, concluded by Peace of Ryswick whereby William was recognized as king by Louis XIV.
2. Queen Anne's War (War of Spanish Succession), 1702-13, concluded by Peace of Utrecht whereby England gained Hudson's Bay region, Acadia and Newfoundland.
3. King George's War (War of Austrian Succession), 1739-48, con-

cluded by Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which required the restoration of all conquests, including Louisburg.

4. French and Indian War (Seven Years' War), 1754-63 (1756-63 in Europe), concluded by Peace of Paris whereby France ceded all land except New Orleans east of Mississippi to England, Louisiana to Spain.

COLONIAL CIVILIZATION, MIDDLE OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE first colonists in the region which afterwards became the United States were English, and despite subsequent additions of Scotch-Irish, German, French and other racial stocks, the American people remained English in ideals and institutions, if not in purity of blood, certainly until the early nineteenth century. Their problem was accordingly to create, in so far as they could, an English civilization out of the raw materials which their new environment afforded. As a resultant of these two forces, English ideals and traditions, and a frontier environment with its savages to be fought and its wilderness to be conquered, colonial civilization arose. It was no mere transfer of European culture, nor yet a distinct creation, but a combination of new and old.

As the eighteenth century advanced, communication with England increased, and ties both of interest and sentiment bound the colonists closer to the mother country than ever they had been before. In many instances, indeed, the relationship between a colony and England was closer than that which existed with other colonies, and the common ties with England served as the chief unifying force among the widely separated and economically and socially diverse colonial establishments. The whole of colonial civilization, then, bore a pronounced and unmistakable English stamp.

In the specific forms which economic and social life took, however, particular and distinct American conditions exerted a significant influence. The virgin character of the land made it inevitable that its economy should be based primarily upon the extractive industries, although there was also commercial activity in New England and the Middle States. Colonial America was a land of few cities and of magnificent distances, with little manufacturing except what was carried on in the home and with grossly inadequate transportation. There was no great wealth and society as a whole was inevitably crude. In its frontier environment, European civilization was simplified, to some extent brutalized, although there was a certain compensation in increased vigor and vitality.

Marked divergences between different groups of colonies, in part due to differences of tradition, more to environment and climate, had manifested themselves. New England was most homogeneous in population, most diversified in activity, and most dominated by church and school;

the middle colonies were most heterogeneous in population and stood as a sort of halfway house between New England town economy and the plantation system of the South; Virginia, Maryland and upper North Carolina were tobacco colonies, with a large slave population and a plantation economy, and were predominantly Anglican in religion; and lower North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia produced primarily rice and indigo, had the largest proportion of slaves and were more closely connected with the West Indies and England than with the other colonies of the Atlantic seaboard.

In all the colonies, independence of life had developed an independence of spirit which boded ill for Great Britain when she should try to draw closer the political and commercial ties between herself and her children who were so much like her and yet so different.

Andrews' *Colonial Folkways* is a work which abounds in vivid and picturesque details, but which, because of the very wealth of its material, may prove confusing to the student unless he formulates certain guiding principles of organization. It is suggested that an effort be made to separate the distinct English elements in colonial civilization from those growing out of the environing conditions, and that the beginnings of sectional divergence be noted. For convenience, a grouping of the British colonies, together with an indication of products and economic activities, is given in the table which follows.

Bird's-Eye View of British Colonies, 1750.

Extreme North.

Hudson's Bay—Furs.
Newfoundland—Fish.
Nova Scotia—Lumber.

New England—Small farming, fishing, commerce, home manufacturing.

New Hampshire.
Massachusetts.
Connecticut.
Rhode Island.

Middle Colonies—Bread colonies, commerce, home manufacturing.

New York.
New Jersey.
Pennsylvania.
Delaware.

Virginia Group—Tobacco colonies.

Maryland.
Virginia.
Albemarle Region, North Carolina.

Southern Continental Group—Rice, indigo, etc.
Cape Fear Region, North Carolina.
South Carolina.
Georgia.

Southern Islands—Sugar colonies.
Bermuda and Bahamas.
Jamaica.
Leeward Islands.
Barbadoes.

THE REVOLT OF THE BRITISH COLONIES, 1763-1783

AFTER her triumph over France, England found herself with an empire on her hands, and the perplexing and intricate problems of its organization and preservation confronted a nation heavily burdened with the debt which long years of war had brought. The English statesmen in their effort to frame an adequate policy were dominated by the imperial idea, often to the disregard of local colonial interests. The American colonies, long neglected and practically self-governing, were dominated by local considerations, without adequate appreciation of imperial interests and requirements. They were very loyal to England immediately after the war, but, now that the French menace was removed, they felt that they no longer needed her military support. The colonies, furthermore, had grown to such stature that they now demanded greater opportunities, whereas the imperial policy involved increased restriction. Out of this difference in viewpoint and clash of interest the Revolutionary War arose.

The problem which confronted the British ministry in 1763 comprised three main elements, defense, organization and revenue, and to meet these specific needs Grenville's policy was devised. Defense was to be provided by means of a standing army in the colonies. Organization was provided for Canada and the western territories. Revenue was to be secured by stricter enforcement of the navigation acts (see table), which had become practically dead letters and the standing army was to be partially supported by means of a direct tax (stamp tax) upon the colonies. Colonial opposition was directed particularly against the army, which was declared unnecessary, and the stamp tax, which was declared unjust and illegal since the colonies were without representation in Parliament. Opposition was so great that the stamp tax was withdrawn (1766). Townshend (1767) sought to secure revenue by means of external taxes, i.e. duties on imports, against which the charge of illegality could not be so urged as against direct taxation, but the colonists, disregarding constitutional subtleties, opposed these duties so vigorously

that Lord North withdrew all of them save that on tea (1771). Opposition to this led to the Boston Tea Party (1773) which was followed by the Force Acts, which brought on the war.

American revolt was motivated by interest as well as principle and was stimulated by radical agitators like James Otis, Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry. Many moderate and conservative men, generally from the propertied, professional and official classes, opposed the war. These formed the Loyalist or Tory party, equally numerous doubtless as the Patriots or Whigs, but not so aggressive or well organized. By their vigor and aggressiveness the Patriots forced the break with England, seized the reins of power in the colonies and carried the revolution to a successful conclusion, despite the opposition or indifference of a majority of the people. Besides the physical and geographical difficulties under which the British labored, the chief factors which brought about the final American victory were the military skill and indomitable perseverance of George Washington, and the alliance with France (1778) which brought to the revolutionists financial, military and naval assistance from England's traditional enemy. Lacking either Washington or France, the revolutionary cause would probably have failed.

The *American Revolution* (New York, 1898) sets forth the causes for the outbreak of the war as understood by a great English historian, W. E. H. Lecky. The same factors may be studied from a different angle in *The Eve of the Revolution* (not used). *Washington and His Comrades in Arms* tells the story of the actual fighting.

Navigation Acts.

1660 Imports to England and possessions only in British ships.
Staples only to England or colonies.
1663 Imports for colonies first to England, then transshipped.
1672 Plantation duty.
1696 Summarizing and administrative act.
1733 Molasses act.

Governmental Table of Colonies immediately prior to their Revolt.

Provinces.
Royal.
Massachusetts.
New Hampshire.
New York.
New Jersey.
Virginia.
North Carolina.
South Carolina.
Georgia.

Proprietary.
Pennsylvania and Delaware.
Maryland.
Corporate Colonies.
Connecticut.
Rhode Island.

Events leading to Revolution.

1761 Writs of Assistance.
1763 Stricter enforcement of navigation acts by Grenville.
Proclamation regarding government of Canada and western territories.
1764 Sugar Act.
1765 Stamp Act.
Quartering Act.
Stamp Act Congress.
1766 Stamp Act withdrawn—Declaratory Act.
1767 Townshend Acts.
1770 Boston Massacre.
1771 Withdrawal of Townshend duties except on tea.
1773 Boston Tea Party and committees of correspondence.
1774 Force Acts (Intolerable Acts).
Quebec Act.

Political Events during War.

1774 1st Continental Congress.
1775-81 2d Continental Congress (*de facto* government).
1776, July 4 Declaration of Independence.
1777 Congress votes Articles of Confederation.
1778 French Alliance.
1781 Ratification of Articles of Confederation following cession of western lands.

Military outline.

1775-76 War in New England and Canada. Gage.
April 1775, Lexington and Concord.
March 1776, Evacuation of Boston.
1776-77 New York-New Jersey Campaign. Howe.
August 1776, Long Island.
July 1777, Howe to Philadelphia.
1777 Burgoyne's campaign. Surrender, October.
1777-78 Pennsylvania campaign.
September 1777, Brandywine.
June 1778, Evacuation of Philadelphia. Clinton.

1779-81 War in South. Cornwallis.
Carolina phase.
Virginia phase—Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 1781.

THE GENESIS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, 1783-1801

FOLLOWING the military victory over Great Britain, many baffling problems confronted the United States, and the future prosperity of the new nation depended upon the wisdom and farsightedness with which these should be met. It was first imperative that adequate terms of peace be made, and particularly that boundaries permitting of future expansion and minimizing danger from other nations should be secured. The determination of the Mississippi as the western boundary met this necessity, but there remained vagueness and uncertainty regarding portions of the northern and southern lines. A second necessity was the restoration of order and prosperity. Economic discontent manifested itself in such uprisings as Shays' Rebellion (1786). Moreover, the new nation, now separated from the British Empire, found its markets cut off and its trade dislocated. The currency system was anarchic, national finances were in a pitiable condition. A third prime necessity was the organization of the western lands which had been ceded by the states and now belonged to the national government. This need was met by the ordinances of 1785 and 1787.

Governments had been established in all the states during the war period. No legal tie whatever bound the states together before 1781, when the Articles of Confederation were ratified. The Confederation even was not a national government, but little more than a loose alliance between sovereign states. It could not procure sufficient revenue to meet its own expenses, could not control commerce between the states nor give sufficient guarantees to secure treaties of trade with other nations, and it had no power to enforce its own decrees. The thirteen states were little short of thirteen independent nations.

The federal convention, which met in 1787, was ostensibly assembled to remedy the defects in the Confederation. As a matter of fact, it framed a new instrument of government. It was instigated and controlled by a group of the "natural aristocracy," its call was practically forced upon the reluctant congress of the Confederation, and the ratification of the Constitution which it produced was brought about by shrewd political manipulation, it being improbable that more than a comparatively small minority actively favored it. Lacking in popular support though it may have been, the federal convention was composed of thoroughly patriotic men and the ablest in the country. If a better instrument of government could have been framed, the one finally

adopted was probably the best which could have been agreed to by the convention and ratified by the states. The fundamental problem which confronted the convention was the reconciliation of the obvious need for a genuine and powerful national government with the interests and demands of the individual states. The two conflicting points of view were expressed in the Virginia and New Jersey plans respectively; the Constitution is essentially a compromise document, mediating between the national and state viewpoints. That future interpretation and development would be in the nationalistic direction was by no means certain in 1789; it came about largely because of the fact that, until 1801, the government was committed to the nationalistic or Federalist party, and that for a generation after that time (1801-35) the supreme court decisions of John Marshall looked ever toward the development of national sovereignty.

The most immediate critical problem of the Washington administration (1789-97) was the financial organization of the government so as to secure national credit and provide a solid basis for national prosperity. The solution devised by the genius of Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, provided for the funding of the national debt, the assumption by the national government of state debts, the establishment of a national bank and the encouragement of manufacturing by means of a protective tariff. It was the deliberate purpose of Hamilton by these measures also to strengthen the central government, and in his interpretation of the powers and authority vested in the national government by the Constitution he formulated the doctrine of "implied powers" and became the founder of the school of "loose construction." The early years of the new government saw the return of prosperity, but this should not be attributed entirely to the Hamiltonian policy, effective as the latter was. Before Washington came in, the tide had turned with the opening up of new markets and the consequent revival of foreign trade. The new government was given most of the credit for the return of good times, and this contributed no little to the popular acceptance of the Constitution.

Of scarcely less importance than the problem of financial organization was that of foreign relations. The free navigation of the Mississippi, so imperative for the development of the West, was secured in the Treaty of San Lorenzo with Spain (1795), and at the same time the southern boundary was fixed. The unpopular Jay Treaty (1795) secured at least the surrender by Great Britain of the northwest forts and provided for the future settlement of other questions at issue. By these treaties, the administration endeavored to establish the young nation more firmly in its own continent. An equally important question of diplomacy was the determination of the relationship of the United States to distinctly European questions. By his declaration of neutrality (1793) in the struggle between Great Britain and France, and in his farewell address

(1797), Washington initiated the policy of isolation which was subsequently to become the cornerstone of American foreign policy.

The policies of the administration did not go without protest. The Whiskey Rebellion in 1794 attested to back-country opposition to a revenue-exacting national government, and the Jeffersonian group was rising in protest against what it regarded as unwarranted freedom in constitutional interpretation, and against the pro-English policy of the administration. This opposition was insufficient to prevent the election of John Adams in 1796 to succeed Washington, so the government continued four years longer under Federalist control. By 1800, however, there was a reaction which resulted in the election of Thomas Jefferson, a Democratic-Republican and supposed strict constructionist. The foreign policy of President Adams, his inability to maintain his hold on his party, an individualistic reaction against centralization and a democratic protest against the aristocratic Federalist régime, all these contributed to his defeat. The strongest reaction was, however, against the suppression of political opposition which characterized the enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), and the victory of Jefferson may be interpreted as a vindication of the legitimacy of political opposition.

By 1801, the new government was firmly established. The party of centralization had done its great work, and this was not to be undone, particularly since John Marshall came into his supreme judicial position before Jefferson was inaugurated and continued for a generation to write into constitutional law the principles which Hamilton had enunciated.

This period is considered in two studies. *The Fathers of the Constitution* tells the story of the political and economic demoralization of the infant nation under the Articles of Confederation and of the beginning of the solution of the political difficulties by the framing of the new Constitution. *Washington and His Colleagues* traces the accomplishment of the Federalist party aided by the prestige and position of Washington during the first twelve years under the Constitution. For further discussion of the growth of the nationalist doctrine initiated by Hamilton and carried on by Marshall, see *John Marshall and the Constitution.*

Critical Period, 1783-1789.

1783 Peace of Paris.
1784 Mt. Vernon Conference.
1785 N. W. Land Ordinance.
1786 Shays' Rebellion.
Annapolis Convention.
1787 N. W. Ordinance.
1787, May 14-Sept. 17 Federal Convention.

1787, Nov.-July, 1788 Ratification Constitution by all states except N. C. and R. I.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Va., First Administration, 1789-1793.

Vice-president—John Adams.

Election of 1788:			
	Washington	69	Unanimous
	Adams	34	
	Jay	9	
	Harrison	6	
	Rutledge	6	
	Hancock	4	
	Clinton	2	
	Milton	2	
	Armstrong	1	
	Telfair	1	
	Lincoln	1	

1789 Organization of government.
Acceptance of Constitution by N. C. and R. I.
Opening of first American factory.
1790 Hamilton's financial measures (completed 1791).
First iron furnace west of Appalachians, western Penn.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Second Administration, 1793-1797.

Vice-president—John Adams.

Election of 1792:			
	Washington	132	Unanimous
	Adams	77	
	Clinton	50	
	Jefferson	4	
	Burr	1	

1793 Genet mission.
Declaration of neutrality.
Invention of cotton gin.
1794 Battle of Fallen Timber.
Whiskey Rebellion.
1795 Retirement of Hamilton.
Treaty of San Lorenzo.
Jay Treaty.
1797 Farewell Address.

JOHN ADAMS, Mass., 1797-1801.

Vice-president—Thomas Jefferson.

Election of 1796:		
	Adams (Federalist)	71
	Jefferson (Democratic-Republican)	68
	Pinckney (Federalist)	59
	Burr (Democratic-Republican)	30

Adams, S.	15
Ellsworth	11
Clinton	7
Jay	5
Iredell	3
Washington	2
Johnson	2
Henry	2
Pinckney	1

1797 XYZ affair.
1798 Naval war with France. Concluded 1800.
Alien and Sedition Acts.
Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.
1801 John Marshall becomes Chief Justice of Supreme Court.

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL GROWTH, 1801-1825

At the close of the administration of John Adams (1801), it might very well have been said that one-half of the task of creating a nation had advanced well toward completion. By 1801, the new government established by the Constitution had proved its superiority over the older government set up by the Articles of Confederation and was functioning with considerable efficiency. If the new United States, however, were to look forward to stability and permanent independence, something more than an efficient government would be needed. Political independence must go hand in hand with economic self-sufficiency. This did not mean that all trade ties with the outer world should be broken; on the contrary, they must be strengthened. It did mean, however, that the people of America should, in an emergency, be able to produce all the food, raw materials, and manufactured articles necessary to maintain the life of the nation unimpaired. The administrations of Jefferson (1801-1809) and Madison (1809-1817) saw this second half of the task of establishing a stable and permanently independent nation measurably advanced toward solution. In those two administrations the foundations for American economic self-sufficiency were firmly laid.

There were two factors that contributed to this end; the rise and expansion of the West and the Napoleonic Wars. Of the two the West was the more important. During the Revolution, but particularly after its close, there had been an extensive migration of Americans across the broad Appalachian Mountains to the plains country beyond. The earliest of these migrations crossed the southern mountains in the Virginia and Carolina country, usually by way of the Wilderness Trail. They estab-

lished two centres of settlement, one in the blue grass region of Kentucky and the other at Watauga in Tennessee. One of the not inconsiderable factors in the success of these ventures was to be found in the fact that this country just south of the Ohio was practically uninhabited, lying as it did between the powerful Creeks and Cherokees on the south and the Ohio and Indiana Indians on the north. So great was the flood of immigrants that crossed into the western country that, by 1792, Kentucky and, by 1796, Tennessee had been admitted to the Union as a state.

The country north of the Ohio did not fill so rapidly. It contained many Indians and hostile British forts lay on its frontier. In 1778, George Rogers Clark with a small force partly picked up in Kentucky, had broken the military power of the English in the heart of the region. After the Revolutionary War was over, settlements, often sponsored by incorporated companies, began to appear on the north bank of the Ohio. Farther to the north settlements began to push through the Mohawk Valley out into the Iroquois country of central New York. To reach these settlements north of the Ohio, immigrants used routes through Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York. Enough people crossed into this northern area to make Ohio a state in 1803.

The problems of these western settlements were some of the most important that the government had to face. Beside the conflict with nature to clear land, establish farms and get a living, the westerners faced a struggle with Indians made desperate by the disappearance of their game and their hunting grounds. Moreover, although, at first, these western settlements were practically self-sufficient, there was a small but ever increasing demand for a trade exchange with the East and with Europe. The routes across the mountains were so difficult as practically to bar bulky freight. Manufactured goods could be transported westward though at considerable cost but food products other than droves of cattle and swine could not be brought eastward. The Mississippi River, the international boundary between the United States and the Spanish Empire, offered the only feasible outlet for the West. Continued free navigation on this stream was therefore of vital importance. With this western problem, as with the others, President Jefferson was forced to cope.

The undeveloped and rapidly growing West not only promised to be a great food-producing section but offered an almost limitless market for manufactured articles. These were two elements of basic importance in the establishment of national self-sufficiency. The East must take the lead in creating the factories to provide for the American markets. It was in this connection that the Napoleonic Wars became a factor of importance in American development.

Down to the accession of Jefferson the people who lived on the Atlantic slope had been dependent primarily upon Europe and the West Indies for their trade exchanges. Particularly in New England, they had

become a maritime people with a large fleet on the seas. New Englanders facing the Atlantic, looked upon the expansion of the West with misgivings because increase in western votes meant a lessening of New England influence in the central government. A small separatist movement, centred in Massachusetts, shortly after Jefferson came to power, amounted to nothing, however, largely because the Napoleonic Wars were making New England very prosperous. The British merchant marine was exposed to French privateers and was seriously hampered—a condition of affairs tending to the profit of the neutral American merchant marine. Americans, however, were exposed to insults on the high seas by both the belligerents. By 1807, these had become so serious that Jefferson retaliated with the Embargo intended to starve out England and France by cutting off American food and raw materials. The Embargo brought tremendous loss to the merchant marine and bitter complaints from New England. As a result of this retaliation policy there rose a demand for American manufactured goods, the supply from Europe being cut off. This marked the real beginning of American manufacturing. During the disorder that existed from 1807 to the end of the War of 1812 manufacturing, protected against European competition, became established on the Atlantic slope. In spite of this new source of profit, however, New England nearly rose in revolt as a result of the policies of the administration. The building of factories completed the foundations for national economic self-sufficiency. The year 1815 is usually taken to mark this most important change. It has been well said that at that time Americans who had always faced Europe now turned squarely about to face the West.

The second war with England was in itself an event of some consequence. For the Americans who lived on the Atlantic slope it meant the rise of manufacturing. It brought a realization of the value of the new West to the East. Last of all the battle of Waterloo brought an end to the conflict in Europe thereby clearing the seas of hostile vessels of war and allowing the American merchant marine to develop under conditions of peace. For the people who lived on the plains west of the mountains the Napoleonic Wars brought the opportunity to acquire the vast territory of Louisiana peacefully, thereby freeing navigation in the Mississippi. The War of 1812 gave opportunity to destroy the military power of the bulk of the strong Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi and opening large areas of fertile land to settlement. The Indians north of the Ohio were defeated in the battles of Tippecanoe (1811) and the Thames (1813); those south of the river at Horseshoe Bend (1814). Besides removing the Indian menace the war did away with the British threat on the northern frontier and, on the south, gave opportunity to conquer Mobile Bay from the Spaniards thus securing to the people of the southwest the best outlet to the Gulf of Mexico next to New Orleans. This paved the way for the ultimate purchase of Florida. For the nation

as a whole, with the possible exception of New England, the war brought a new national consciousness which was soon to make itself felt in a sharply defined policy of isolation in international affairs known as the Monroe Doctrine. The one great menace to national unity was the Appalachian barrier which must be crossed by effective transportation facilities before the East and the West could be bound together by enduring ties of economic interest.

This period is considered in three studies. *Pioneers of the Old Southwest* deals with the crossing of the southern Appalachians, the rise of Kentucky and Tennessee and the problems of the western settlers who lived south of the Ohio. *The Old Northwest* takes up the conquest from the British and from the Indians of the country north of the Ohio, the crossing of the northern Appalachians and the establishment of all the states in the so-called Northwest Territory. *Jefferson and His Colleagues* deals with a political story confused by many elements. Jefferson's following was in the main composed of those who, by virtue of the simplicity and equality of the social life in their small communities, were democrats. These men were naturally hostile to the old clerical aristocracy of New England and to the new commercial aristocracy that was appearing in all the growing coast towns. North of the Potomac, aristocracy and wealth supported the Federalist party. The election of Jefferson took the control of the new central government out of the hands of this aristocratic group and gave it to their opponents. No social revolution, however, resulted. The reason lay in the fact that aristocracy was assaulted by small property owners and not by propertyless elements. When the institution of property was not threatened, there could be no serious social changes.

Nevertheless New England chafed under the defeat, particularly because leaders in that section saw clearly that growth of the West was adding voters to the Democratic-Republican party and that New England's influence was relatively declining. The ties of the national union were not yet sufficiently strong to prevent New England from seeking independence, particularly when the dominant Democratic-Republicans made clear their policy toward England in the War of 1812. The termination of the war stopped the secession movement in New England but not before that movement had completely discredited the Federalist party. With the Hartford Convention that party practically died.

From 1815 to 1825, when John Quincy Adams was inaugurated, America had but one party, that of Jefferson. This is the period of Monroe's administration and has been misnamed "The Era of Good Feeling." During these ten years the political question to be decided was whether the American government would be a one party government or whether this party would break into two or more. The beginning of the answer to this question was made in the election of 1824.

The Fight for a Free Sea (not used) tells the story of the War of 1812.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Va., First Administration, 1801-1805.

Vice-president—Aaron Burr.

Election of 1800: Jefferson (Democratic-Republican) 73
Burr (Democratic-Republican) 73
Adams (Federalist) 65
Pinckney (Federalist) 64
John Jay 1

1801-1805 War with the Barbary pirates.
1803 Marbury vs. Madison.
Impeachment of Judge Chase.
Purchase of Louisiana.
1804-1806 Lewis and Clark expedition.
1805-1806 Pike exploring expedition.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Second Administration, 1805-1809.

Vice-president—George Clinton.

Election of 1804: Jefferson (Democratic-Republican) 162
Pinckney (Federalist) 14

1805 *Essex* case.
1806-1807 Burr's conspiracy.
1807 Successful test of Fulton's *Clermont* on Hudson.
1806, Nov. 21 Berlin Decree.
Nov. 25 Non-importation Act.
1807, Jan. 7 First Order in Council.
June 22 *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair.
Nov. 1 Second Order in Council.
Dec. 17 Milan Decree.
Dec. 21 Embargo.
1809 Repeal of Embargo and passage of Non-intercourse Act.

JAMES MADISON, Va., First Administration, 1809-1813.

Vice-president—George Clinton.

Election of 1809: Madison (Democratic-Republican) 122
Clinton (Democratic-Republican) 6
Pinckney (Federalist) 47

1810 Macon Bill No. 2.
Pennsylvania furnishing half pig iron produced in United States.
1811 Expiration of charter of first National Bank.
Introduction of steamboat to Mississippi river trade.
May 16 *President-Little Belt* affair.
Nov. 7 Battle of Tippecanoe.
June 7 Announcement of intention to repeal British orders in council.
1812, June 18 War declared on Great Britain.

JAMES MADISON, Second Administration, 1813-1817.

Vice-president—Elbridge Gerry.

Election of 1812: Madison (Democratic-Republican) 128
Clinton (Democratic-Republican) 89

1812-1815 War of 1812.

1812 Hull's campaign against Fort Malden ends in surrender at Detroit, August.
Harrison's campaign against Fort Malden.

1813 War in West.
Jan. 22 Harrison defeated at Raisin river.
Sept. 10 Perry's victory on Lake Erie.
Oct. 5 British defeated at Thames river.
Capture of Mobile bay.
War in East.
Wilkinson's campaign against Canada by way of St. Lawrence fails.

1814 War in East.
July 25 Battle of Lundy's Lane—end of invasion of Canada by way of Niagara.
Sept. 11 Battle of Plattsburg—halting of British invasion of New York.
War in South.
Aug. 24 Capture of Washington.
Sept. 12 Abandonment of attack on Baltimore.
War in West.
Mar. 29 Battle of Horseshoe Bend.
Dec. 24 Treaty of peace.

1815, Jan. 5 Adjournment of Hartford Convention.
Jan. 8 Battle of New Orleans.

1816 Incorporation of Second National Bank.
Tariff of 1816.

1817 Veto of Bonus Bill.

JAMES MONROE, Va., First Administration, 1817-1821.

Vice-president—D. D. Tompkins.

Election of 1816: Monroe (Democratic-Republican) 183
King (Federalist) 34

1818 Trouble with Seminole Indians in Florida.
Establishment of 49th parallel as boundary between United States and Canada.
Beginning of joint occupation of Oregon.

1819 Purchase of Florida.
McCulloch vs. Maryland. The Dartmouth College case.

1820 Act regarding sales of public land fixing price of $1.25 per acre.
Missouri Compromise.

JAMES MONROE, Second Administration, 1821-1825.

Vice-president—D. D. Tompkins.

Election of 1820: Monroe (Democratic-Republican) 231
Adams (Democratic-Republican) 1

1823 Monroe Doctrine.

1824 Tariff of 1824.
Gibbons vs. Ogden.

THE JACKSONIAN ERA, 1825-1841

WITH the problem of an efficient government practically out of the way and the foundations of economic self-sufficiency firmly laid the people of the United States faced two great tasks. The first and most pressing was to develop transportation facilities both within and without the national borders. The second was to establish an equilibrium among the sections in the central government so that no one section or group of sections would control that government and exploit the rest. The beginning of the solution of these problems was the main accomplishment of the Jackson Era.

The transportation problem divided itself into two parts; the development of a merchant marine on the high seas, and the establishment of internal trade routes particularly across the mountains. The story of the growth of sea-trade is simple. In colonial days this had been one of the principal vocations of the people of New England where the stony and uneven soil was not well suited to farming. The trade had been mainly with the West Indies and with Europe. During the forty years of intermittent war and peace from 1775 to 1815 the merchant marine suffered violent vicissitudes passing swiftly from decline to prosperity and vice versa. After the War of 1812 a long period of peace enabled American sea traders to develop their enterprises almost unhampered. As a result before the conclusion of the Jackson Era, 1841, and for almost two decades after, the American merchant marine disputed the British title to the first place in the carrying trade of the world. American packet ships threatened to dominate the sea lanes of the Atlantic and the great American clipper ships usurped the best of the trade with the far places of the world, India, China and the East Indies. This trade brought both the products and profits to America that were much needed in the development of economic self-sufficiency. It must also be remembered that Americans showed the same pioneering spirit on the sea that they showed on the frontier. The sailing ship and the log cabin in the clearing were two different manifestations of the same spirit and characteristics.

Important as it was, however, ocean transportation had only a secondary significance for American development when compared with land transportation. After the War of 1812 three sections began very defi-

nitely to appear, the East, the West and the South. Moreover, a sectional division of labor was developing. The West produced food; the South raised cotton and tobacco; and the East produced food and manufactured goods and was developing great commercial and financial centres. The Appalachian barrier split the South and divided the West from the East. National economic development demanded that these sections be tied together by cheap and efficient transportation.

Before and during the Jackson Era there were three kinds of improvements in transportation; highways, rivers and canals. The improvement of highways took the form of building turnpikes of which the first was constructed at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1793. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the region north of the Potomac and east of the mountains "turnpiking" became almost a craze. The turnpike helped to solve problems of local and short distance transportation in connecting the farms with the town. It also aided long distance transportation by connecting city with city and especially by furnishing a good route across the mountains in the Cumberland Road. The development of rivers followed the successful construction of the steamboat. This improvement which made upstream navigation possible revolutionized the economic life of the West where one great system of navigable rivers touched almost every settlement. The appearance of the first steamboat on the Mississippi is an event of great national importance. The third transportation improvement was the canal. Its functions were to connect city with city, river with river and to cross the mountains. The completion of the Erie Canal through the Mohawk pass was the greatest single achievement of the canal builders. Before their work was done, however, other canals had been thrown over the mountains and a network of improved waterways was to be found both in the East and in the West. Although experimental railroads appeared during this period the railway age did not come until later.

A picture of the American people between 1815 and 1840 would show them busily developing trade routes to all parts of the world and bringing their three great sections together with improved transportation facilities. If they lost contact with world markets, their civilization must stagnate. If they failed to bind their three sections together their rapidly expanding nation would be threatened with dissolution and America break up into small countries like Europe. It is not too much to say, therefore, that the greatest single factor in American national success at this period was transportation. But transportation was not all. Rivalry and jealousy were appearing among the sections due primarily to differences of interest. Unless harmonized these also might split the new nation.

The people of the three sections differed greatly not only in what they produced but in the character of their institutions and their civilization. The East, particularly in its cities, was beginning to be cosmopolitan

with the semblance of an aristocracy based partly on family, partly on ability and partly on wealth. The South was frankly aristocratic, its economic life centred in the plantation system and in slavery. The West was almost universally democratic. Since its people were mainly small farmers they enjoyed not only political but economic equality. In fact the former arose out of the latter. There were very few distinctions of wealth, class or family beyond the mountains. Conflict of interest between these sections was the dominant political force in the Jackson Era.

The East and the West were united in a desire for a tariff to protect manufacturing and agriculture. The South opposed it because a tariff added to the burdens but not the profits of that section. When South Carolina failed in 1828 and in 1832 to block protection, it opposed the two rival sections with the theory of nullification based on the rights of a minority. In general both the West and the East, with the possible exception of New England, were in favor of internal improvements (developing internal transportation facilities) at national expense. The South was again opposed because, since the southern Appalachians could not be crossed successfully, the South would be compelled to share in the expense without participating in the advantages. This situation brought endless dispute and confusion. As the West grew in numbers and in power, western democratic institutions began to attract attention in the East. The result was the first great democratic wave that Americans had seen. It ultimately came to be called Jacksonian Democracy. It began shortly after the close of the War of 1812 with the overthrow of the Connecticut theocracy in 1818. It brought new constitutions to a great many states east of the mountains and even affected the South. In general, its objective in the East was to give more power into the hands of the governors of the states and to establish manhood suffrage. In the central government it aimed to kill the Congressional Caucus and to destroy the connection between the second National Bank and the treasury. With Jackson's divorcing of this bank from the government the movement may be said to have reached its climax. The differences that arose during the Jackson Era were in the main easy to compromise. At the end of the era, however, the vital question of slavery began to be agitated and was soon to develop into a serious threat against national unity. The era closed with the panic of 1837 and the administration of Martin Van Buren.

This period is considered in three studies. *The Old Merchant Marine* tells the story of the development of sea transportation. *The Paths of Inland Commerce* traces the development of land transportation. *The Reign of Andrew Jackson* narrates the conflict among the sections. This study continues the political story from where it was dropped by *Jefferson and His Colleagues*. The elevation of John Quincy Adams to the presidency antagonized Jackson and the men of the West. Using the "corrupt bargain" as an issue and playing up the

popularity of the General, astute political managers built up a political party which quickly became identified with the widespread democratic movement of the time. Jackson was elected in 1828, and by 1832 the new Democratic party was organized and functioning efficiently. Adams and his Secretary of State, Clay, were driven into the defensive by the assault of the Jackson group. Behind them, however, began to rally the small but growing business interests of the East. To guarantee this support Clay came out in favor of the recharter of the National Bank at a time when Jackson's opposition to the Bank was beginning to be known. The followers of Clay called themselves National Republicans but were later known as Whigs. They made the bank an issue and Clay their nominee in 1832 only to meet with disastrous defeat.

In 1836, Jackson dictated his successor, Martin Van Buren, and the rule of the Democratic party lasted four years longer. The Whigs, partly because of divisions within their ranks and partly from political astuteness, did not strongly contest the election of 1836. They bided their time.

Van Buren's administration was cursed with the panic of 1837 which made a popular reaction against the Democrats inevitable. In 1840, the Whigs won but neither of their leaders, Clay and Webster, was the nominee. General Harrison, thoroughly incompetent for the task, was elevated to the office of chief executive. This Whig victory, however, did more to destroy their own party organization than that of their opponents for Harrison died at the very outset of his administration and his successor, Tyler, who had been nominated to catch Democratic votes, had little sympathy with either Whig leaders or Whig principles.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Mass., 1825-1829.

Vice-president—John C. Calhoun.

Election of 1824:	Jackson	99	152,901
	Adams	84	114,023
	Crawford	41	46,979
	Clay	37	47,217

1824 Defeat of "King Caucus."
1825 Election of Adams by House of Representatives.
Completion of the Erie Canal.
1827 Woolens tariff bill.
1828 Tariff of Abominations.
South Carolina Exposition.
Breaking of ground for the B. and O. railroad.

ANDREW JACKSON, Tenn., First Administration, 1829-1833.

Vice-president—John C. Calhoun.

Election of 1828:	Jackson (Anti-Administration)	178	647,276
	Adams (Administration)	83	508,064

1829 Removal of officeholders.
Break between Calhoun and Jackson.
1830 Jan. 21, 26 Webster-Hayne Debate.
April 15 Jackson's "Union" toast.
1830 Veto of Maysville road bill.
1831 First national nominating convention in United States Anti-Masonic party.
Liberator founded by Garrison.
1832 May 22 First national convention of Democratic party adopts two-thirds rule.
July 10 Veto by Jackson of bill to recharter National Bank.
July 14 Tariff of 1832.
Nov. 24 Adoption of Ordinance of Nullification by South Carolina convention.
Dec. 10 Jackson's nullification proclamation.
1833 Mar. 3 Compromise of 1833.

ANDREW JACKSON, Second Administration, 1833-1837.

Vice-president—Martin Van Buren.

Election of 1832:	Jackson (Democratic)	219	687,502
	Clay (National Republican)	49	530,189
	Floyd	11	
	Wirt (Anti-Masonic)	7	

1832-1835 Removal of southern Indians to Indian Territory.
1833 Removal of deposits.
1834 Jackson censured by Senate.
National debt completely paid off.
Invention of reaper by McCormick.
1835-1836 Texas revolution.
1836 Passage of act for distribution of surplus.
Jackson's specie circular.
Passage of "Gag Rule" by House of Representatives.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, N. Y., 1837-1841.

Vice-president—Richard M. Johnson.

Election of 1836:	Van Buren (Democratic)	170	762,978
	Harrison (Whig)	73	544,921
	White (Whig)	26	145,396
	Webster (Whig)	14	41,287
	Mangum (Whig)	11	

1837 Panic of 1837.
1840 Adoption of subtreasury system.
Cunard Line puts on regular steam packets New York to Liverpool.

MANIFEST DESTINY AND CONQUEST TO THE PACIFIC, 1841-1861

At the end of the Jackson Era the student of American history must study two quite different topics, yet between which there is a close relation. Up to this point the national story has set forth the creation of an effective government, the establishment of national self-sufficiency based on a sectional division of labor and on improved transportation and the reaching of a kind of equilibrium among the sections in the political arena of the central government. Now two factors become prominent. The first, Manifest Destiny, is the desire to expand westward until the Pacific has been reached and, perhaps, to make the United States the overlord of all North America. Side by side with this tendency toward nationalism goes a dangerous accentuation of sectionalism as the slavery question develops into an acute issue and threatens to split the nation. Keeping in mind that each factor affected the other, we take them up separately, beginning with Manifest Destiny.

From 1840 to 1860 the most spectacular feature in American development is to be found in the conquest and acquisition of new territory and in the peopling of the regions acquired. In Jackson's time the western boundary of the United States ran roughly along the divide made by the Rocky Mountains, turning eastward and southward to exclude the broad plains of Texas. To the southwest of this boundary lay Mexico including California, Utah and Texas. To the northwest lay the undeveloped Oregon territory held in joint occupation by the United States and Great Britain. The acquisition of this really princely domain was the aspiration of large numbers of aggressive Americans.

The story began in Texas, to the rich cotton-producing plains of which American pioneers migrated without respect to the international boundary. It was inevitable that the American settlement in Texas should become large and that it should fall out with the Mexican government under whose jurisdiction it was. Revolution, independence and annexation make up the outline of the Texas story. Annexation of Texas, however, brought the nation into grave danger of a war with Mexico, the despoiled country. The war was precipitated by further aggressions on the part of the American government. From a military point of view the war was fairly well handled. Victory was both quick and complete. By the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo the international boundary was fixed at the Rio Grande and the territory of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah and much of Colorado was secured. On the whole, it may be said the ruthless aggression won a large and rich territory at a very small cost. Frémont's explorations in the Rocky Mountains and the Great Central Basin together with the activities of Americans in California are evidence that the aggression was not unforeseen.

The treaty of peace had hardly been signed when it was known that

gold had been discovered in California. The result was a sudden and large population movement to the gold fields. Almost overnight a large settlement of Americans appeared in the largest and richest of the valleys emptying into the Pacific. When gold mining became less profitable, farming took its place so that the settlement was never broken up or lost. The way in which the American immigrants into California handled the problems of communities increasing with tremendous rapidity gives a good idea of the fundamentals of the American character and civilization.

North of California lay the fur country of Oregon, centering in the rich valleys of the Columbia and Willamette rivers. In this region British and American fur-traders worked side by side. Americans had first become acquainted with the country through the explorations of Lewis and Clark. Before the end of the Jackson Era adventurous American pioneers were establishing clearings about the trading-posts. Their coming was characteristic of American expansion all through the nineteenth century. The people overran the wild country settling only in the richer locations. They skimmed the cream of the new country first. As American settlers increased in number the national government began to consider the possibility of the entire control of Oregon. The acquisition of Oregon became a campaign issue in the election of 1844. President Polk was able by a compromise which split the Oregon territory into two parts to gain complete possession of the country south of the 49th parallel. In the American half were included both the most valuable valleys and the best harbors in the original area.

Manifest Destiny carried the border to the Pacific. At the same time the frontier of settlement was steadily moving westward. The West as a section was expanding with great rapidity. It should be noted, however, that the frontier did not sweep in an uninterrupted course across the continent. It pushed up the western slope of the Mississippi Valley approximately to the region of the High Plains; then it leaped the barrier of the Rocky Mountains and appeared in the valleys of the Pacific slope. The peopling of the mountain and the High Plains area went over until after the settlement of the great sectional controversy in the Civil War.

Expansion to the Pacific is taken up in three studies. *Adventurers of Oregon* tells the story of the exploration of Oregon, of the establishment of the fur-trade and of the final settlement of the question of sovereignty. *The Spanish Borderlands* (not used) describes the early history of regions later to become part of the United States. *Texas and the Mexican War* narrates the peopling of Texas, the Texan revolution, the Mexican War and its consequences. In this volume is to be found a good explanation of the relation between Manifest Destiny and the slavery controversy. *The Forty-Niners* pictures the settlement of California and the establishment of a stable government in that region.

(For chronology of this period see end of next section.)

THE CONTROVERSY OVER SLAVERY, 1841-1861

SIDE by side with national expansion during the years from 1840 to 1860 went the growth of sectional dissension within the nation until the country was finally divided into two hostile, warring groups. The trouble did not arise as a result of overexpansion; the factors making for division were present in the original thirteen states.

The fundamental differences between the North and the South were, in the last analysis, an outgrowth of a difference in climate. North of the Ohio was a typically temperate zone climate; to the south of it conditions became more and more subtropical. In the heart of the cotton, sugar and rice country the climate was such that white men could not work at manual labor with the efficiency possible in the North. To provide the needed labor supply, blacks were imported from Africa even in early colonial times. It was speedily found that whether the crop was tobacco, or rice, or cotton these blacks could be used most efficiently when handled in gangs. This made necessary the typical subtropical plantation in place of the small farm of the North. The development of the plantation system was further stimulated by the cheapness of land in the new country and the need for constant substitution of virgin soil for fields worn out by cropping. When the invention of the cotton gin, in 1793, fixed cotton as the dominant money crop of the South, the plantation system with slave labor was firmly established and practically universalized. The only areas to which the system did not come were the upland valleys of the Appalachians and the lowland regions where the soil was sandy and infertile.

The plantation system brought about a definite and permanent social stratification with the planter at the top, the slave at the bottom and intermediary layers of whites. The southern civilization built on the plantation system was, therefore, aristocratic to the core. Its outstanding characteristics were differences in wealth, social position and political power.

The aristocratic civilization in the South built upon agriculture was in sharp contrast to the democracy of the Northwest built also on agriculture. The small farmer of the northern half of the Ohio Valley was the economic and political equal of his neighbor. In the community in which he lived democracy was as inevitable as farming itself. In this region slave labor was economically so inefficient that the prohibition of the Ordinance of 1787 was hardly needed. East of the mountains in the coast states commercial and industrial institutions were rapidly developing. Although these were causing an unequal distribution of wealth, they were not seriously modifying the fundamental ideal of democracy.

In the young United States, therefore, particularly after the spread of cotton, two civilizations appeared; one agricultural, commercial and industrial, its political institutions founded on democracy, the other

almost solely agricultural, its political and social institutions built on aristocracy. Both civilizations, in the beginning, supported the central government and favored national expansion.

There were three factors that made for discord. The first was the inevitable and growing dislike of the people of each civilization for the different institutions and ideals of the other. This was particularly true in the North where the dislike of slavery grew to the proportions of a moral crusade. The second was the disparity in growth of population, a condition which early threatened the equality of the South in the councils of the nation. This led to the development of the theory regarding the rights of a minority, called the theory of nullification. The third and probably most important factor was the competition of the two civilizations for the unsettled public domain. Northerners naturally wished to exclude the obnoxious institution of slavery from the new country; the Southerners, equally naturally, wished to increase the area of their section as much as possible. This made them ardent expansionists with respect to the territories of Texas and California. The sectional contest was most acute on the climatic border line where the states of Missouri and Kansas were ultimately established. It was this struggle for the national domain that brought on war.

When the South became aware of the dislike of the more populous North for slavery, it set about defending slavery by maintaining an equality in the United States Senate and holding a strong influence over succeeding presidents. From 1840 to 1860, this policy was so successful that practically no important policy was established by the central government to which the South was vitally opposed. On one occasion, however, in 1850, the situation became so strained that a compromise was only effected with difficulty. The whole political program of the South went to wreck in 1860 when Lincoln was elected by a sectional party on a sectional issue. It was then for the first time that a majority of the Southerners felt that their interests would be better served by independence than by longer remaining with the Union.

The development of the sectional controversy is taken up in two studies. *The Cotton Kingdom* is an analysis of the civilization of the South at its zenith between 1850 and 1860. *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* tells the story of the growth of northern hostility to slavery and narrates the important conflicts between the sections to the election of Lincoln. It should be remembered that *Texas and the Mexican War* tells part of the story of the conflict between the sections.

The political story from 1840 to 1860 needs a word of explanation. In 1840, Harrison was elected, soon to be succeeded by the impossible Tyler. The administration weakened the Whig party but it restored the leadership of Clay. In 1844, his nomination was a foregone conclusion. Van Buren, naturally, hoped to be the nominee of the Democrats and succeeded in pledging a majority of the delegates to the convention.

Other aspirants for leadership, however, had arisen and one of these, Walker of Mississippi, succeeded in defeating Van Buren and nominating a dark horse, Polk. The platform was frankly expansionist and because it favored the annexation of Texas was pleasing to the slave interests. Clay was unable to meet this platform with a definite statement on the new issues that it raised. He based his campaign on the old issues of tariff and internal improvements. Again the Whigs lost.

The war with Mexico was so definitely aggressive and favored the slave interests to such an extent that it proved a liability to the Democratic party and, in 1848, the Whigs won for the second and last time in the election of the war hero, Taylor.

This election meant little so far as the dominant issues of the day were concerned because Taylor had been a member of neither party and refused to be bound by Whig pronouncements. In this administration, however, the slavery question came up in all its difficulty and was temporarily settled by the Compromise of 1850. The discussion of the various proposals included in this compromise was not along party lines. Both parties were attempting to avoid a direct stand on the issue. In 1852, both were successful in this. The Whigs practically disintegrated after the death of Clay and Webster and the defeat of their last presidential candidate, General Scott. In nominating Pierce of New Hampshire the Democrats chose a colorless personage who would not raise the slave issue but who would be sympathetic with slave interests. The climax of the Pierce administration was the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

In 1856, the Democratic party still avoided the slavery issue and nominated another innocuous candidate in the person of James Buchanan. But the situation had changed. The Kansas-Nebraska Act had brought the anti-slavery Republican party into existence. The evasive tactics of the Democrats failed. The slavery issue forced itself upon them. Buchanan's administration saw the final drift into secession.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Ohio, March 4, 1841-April 4, 1841.
JOHN TYLER, Va., Apr. 4, 1841-1845.

Election of 1840:	Harrison (Whig)	234	1,275,016
	Van Buren (Democrat)	60	1,129,102

1842 Tariff of 1842.
Webster-Ashburton Treaty.
1844 Caravan of 1,000 persons starts for Oregon.
Demonstration of telegraph by Morse.
First process for vulcanizing rubber patented by Goodyear.
Beginning of copper mining in northern Michigan.
1845 Annexation of Texas.
Government aid to steam ocean navigation.

JAMES K. POLK, Tenn., 1845-1849.
Vice-president—George M. Dallas.

Election of 1844: Polk (Democrat) 170 1,337,243
Clay (Whig) 105 1,299,062
Birney (Liberty) 62,300

1845-1847 Famine in Ireland and climax of Irish emigration to America.
1846 Abrogation of British corn laws.
June 6 Acquisition of Oregon.
1846, May 12 Declaration of war against Mexico.
1846-1848 War with Mexico.
1846 Conquest of California.
Dec. 29 Gen. Taylor reaches Victoria, point of farthest advance.
Wilmot Proviso introduced.
1847, Feb. 23 Battle of Buena Vista.
Sept. 14 Gen. Scott in possession of Mexico City.
1848, Feb. 2 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, La., Mar. 4, 1849-July 9, 1850.

MILLARD FILLMORE, N. Y., July 9, 1850-1853.

Election of 1848: Taylor (Whig) 163 1,360,099
Cass (Democrat) 127 1,220,544
Van Buren (Free Soil) 291,263

1849 Suppression of Revolution of 1848 in Germany and emigration of political exiles to America.
1849 Gold rush to California.
1850 Compromise of 1850.
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.
1852 "Uncle Tom's Cabin."
1853 Completion of all-rail route from Chicago to Atlantic coast.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, N. H., 1853-1857.

Vice-president—Wm. R. King.

Election of 1852: Pierce (Democrat) 254 1,601,474
Scott (Whig) 42 1,386,580

1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act.
Founding of Republican party.
Ostend Manifesto.
1854-1858 Struggle for Kansas.
1856 Passing of Whig party.

JAMES BUCHANAN, Pa., 1857-1861.

Vice-president—John C. Breckenridge.

Election of 1856: Buchanan (Democrat) 174 1,838,169
Frémont (Republican) 114 1,341,264
Fillmore (Know-Nothing) 8 874,534

1857 Panic of 1857.
Filibustering in Nicaragua.
Dred Scott decision.
1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates.
1859 John Brown's raid.
1861 Organization of Confederate States of America.
Crittenden Compromise.

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

It is perhaps easier to understand why the South wished to abandon the Union than why the North wished to compel her to stay. The Southerner saw very clearly that his civilization was menaced; that the North wished to and could put slavery in the way of ultimate extinction. This would cause, in the South, a social revolution the consequences of which no man could foresee. When the Southerner sought independence, therefore, he sought to maintain unimpaired the institutions with which he was familiar and on which his whole life was built.

If the Northerner so deeply disliked southern institutions why should the North not let the South go in peace? Why undertake a great war to compel an unwilling and disaffected section to remain within the Union? The answer seems to lie in two factors. For one thing, the spirit of nationalism stimulated by national expansion had grown until it was very much stronger throughout the North than at the time of the War of 1812. Furthermore, northern leaders like Webster had attacked southern political theories with nationalist doctrine and had thereby further stimulated nationalist feeling. Economic interchange between the sections was such that if the South left the Union, the nation would be seriously injured. Northerners who believed that the South had already committed wrongs enough, could not calmly permit this great injury to be done. National patriotism was therefore enlisted against the Southerner. Moreover, there were many men who were willing to fight to free the blacks. They were the ones who criticised the postponement of emancipation.

For the war itself the North was superior in man power and in economic resources; the South was superior in unity of sentiment among its people and in military leaders. To win, the South had only to hold off the northern armies until the North grew tired of fighting or until a foreign nation intervened. Victory could only be secured by the North by destroying completely the southern military power, a task of extreme difficulty.

The overt act which brought on war was the firing on Sumter. This brought the key state of Virginia into the Confederacy. The northern strategy was directed toward three objectives: first, to blockade the southern coast to prevent the exporting of cotton and the importing of

war materials, second, to open navigation on the Mississippi and, thereby, isolate the western half of the Confederacy, third, to capture Richmond, the Confederate capital. By 1863, the blockade was working with great efficiency and was strangling the South. Control of the Mississippi river was finally secured by the surrender of Vicksburg, July 3, 1863. Practically all of the region west of the Appalachian Mountains was isolated by the defeat of the Confederates at Chattanooga in November, 1863. In 1864, Sherman drove across the southern end of the Atlantic slope destroying the military power of that region. Until 1865 the Confederate armies in Virginia held off the northern attacks and even made two dangerous counter attacks. These proved to be without lasting result because they failed either to force the North to give up the war or to elicit outside interference. Not before practically all the Confederacy outside of Virginia had been conquered did Lee's army collapse and Richmond fall.

There was no peace treaty. Southern political and military organization, central and local, had been destroyed. Military government took its place. The central problem was to reestablish law and order under the control of civil authorities giving the blacks the status of freemen. Four years of war had thoroughly aroused the passions of the victors. Supporters of severe penalties for the South grew in number. Under the leadership of Stevens and Sumner they secured control of Congress. When opposed by President Johnson they impeached him and almost secured a conviction. These radicals imposed harsh measures upon the South. Not content with having the negro a freeman they made him a voter at the same time disfranchising the bulk of the whites. The South was plunged into the dreaded social revolution. A revulsion of feeling in the North swept the radicals from power while at the same time in the South a white movement using, in part, primitive vigilante methods reestablished white supremacy.

The Civil War was a great selective force. The very fact of the war was in itself evidence that two civilizations such as were found in the North and the South could not exist side by side in the United States. The war selected out one of these, the southern, and destroyed it. The history of the South since the end of negro domination has centred largely in the adaptation of the customs and institutions of the dominant civilization into the South and the adapting of them to peculiar southern conditions. It should be remembered, however, that the war did not solve the negro problem; it only modified it. That problem still remains.

The period of the war and reconstruction is taken up in three studies. *Abraham Lincoln and the Union* takes up the history of the North during the war and shows the significance of the figure of Lincoln. *The Day of the Confederacy* considers the problems of the South. *Captains of the Civil War* (not used) may well be read to get a picture of the military operations. *The Sequel of Appomattox* tells the story of the

destruction wrought by the war, northern vengeance and the beginnings of the new era in the South.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Ill., First Administration, 1861-1865.

Vice-president—Hannibal Hamlin.

Election of 1860:	Lincoln (Republican)	180	1,866,452
	Douglas (Democrat, Northern)	12	1,376,957
	Breckenridge (Democrat, Southern)	72	849,781
	Bell (Constitutional Union)	39	588,879

1861, Apr. 12 Attack on Sumter.
Apr. 19 Declaration of blockade.
July 21 Battle of Bull Run.
Nov. 8 *Trent* affair.
1862, Feb. 16 Surrender of Fort Donelson.
Mar. 9 Battle of *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.
Apr. 6-7 Battle of Shiloh.
Apr. 25 Capture of New Orleans.
June 26-July 1 Seven Days' Battles.
Aug. 29 Second Bull Run.
Sept. 17 Battle of Antietam.
Dec. 13 Battle of Fredericksburg.
1863, Jan. 1 Emancipation proclamation.
May 2-4 Battle of Chancellorsville.
July 1-3 Battle of Gettysburg.
July 4 Surrender of Vicksburg.
Sept. 19-20 Battle of Chickamauga.
Nov. 23-25 Battle of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.
1864, May 5-21 Battles in the Wilderness.
June 3 Battle of Cold Harbor.
Aug. 5 Capture of Mobile bay.
Sept. 3 Capture of Atlanta.
Dec. 15-16 Battle of Nashville.
1865, Apr. 9 Surrender of Lee.
1861 Morrill Tariff Act.
1862 Homestead Act.
Legal Tender Act.
1863 National Banking Act.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Second Administration, Mar. 4, 1865-Apr. 15, 1865.

ANDREW JOHNSON, Tenn., Apr. 15, 1865-1869.

				Soldier vote
Election of 1864:	Lincoln (Republican)	212	2,213,665	116,887
	McClellan (Democrat)	21	1,802,237	33,748

1865, Mar. 3 Creation of the Freedmen's Bureau.
May 29 Amnesty proclamation.

1866 Laying of Atlantic cable.
Feb. 19 Johnson vetoes Freedmen's Bureau Bill.
Apr. 6 Civil Rights Act passed over Johnson's veto.
June 13 Fourteenth Amendment sent to states for ratification.
Sept., Oct., Nov. Victory of Radical Republicans in Congressional elections.
1867 Organization of Ku Klux Klan.
Mar. 2 Radical Reconstruction Act.
Mar. 2 Tenure of Office Act.
Overthrow of Maximilian in Mexico.
Purchase of Alaska.
1868 Beginning of negro rule.
Feb. 24 President Johnson impeached.
May 26 Johnson acquitted.
July 20 Fourteenth Amendment proclaimed.

ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES, 1865-1900

THE history of the first sixty-five years of the nineteenth century in the United States turned on the conquest of a continent inestimably rich in natural resources, and on the death struggle between two different methods of developing and utilizing those resources—the plantation system of the South and the industrial system of the North. By 1865 it was apparent that the story of the rest of the century would be a story of national development largely along the industrial lines of the victorious section. An American of 1865, however, could have had only the slightest conception of the fabulous wealth of the natural resources the new country contained—the deposits of coal, iron, oil, copper, silver, etc. Even if he had realized the extent of this latent wealth, he could scarcely have believed that it would be developed until many generations had come and gone. The conversion of potential wealth in the form of raw materials into available wealth demands a great concentration of capital, highly efficient business organization, a large labor class. While the first half of the century had witnessed a start for each of these factors in the northeastern sections of the country, no one of them furnished in 1865 so much as a promise of increase on the vast scale which would be necessary if the conversion were to take place within a relatively short time. The very country in which the development was to take place was sparsely populated; the total population in 1860 amounting to 31,443,321, with a density of 10.6 per square mile. The great majority were neither business men nor laborers, but farmers. There were practically no millionaires. Business was conducted on what seems to us a very

small scale. The corporation did exist, and formed nearly the sole means either of concentrating the small and scattered individual accumulations of capital into funds available for business development, or of utilizing such foreign capital as might be attracted into American investments. But few corporations did a business of more than local importance, and the corporation bulked very small beside the great multitude of private individuals who did most of the nation's business. Most striking to us would have been the absence of a great part of the material forms in which we visualize the results of modern business every day—the cities of skyscrapers, the long miles of steel rails and telegraph poles, the gigantic railroad terminals, the great bridges across the rivers, the many-windowed factories with their tall chimneys, their clouds of smoke and their flaming furnaces. Each of these objects has required a great deal of money, organized labor, an accumulation of materials from all parts of the country, and a great directing business organization to plan and accomplish its erection. The business man of 1865 had neither the money, the labor, the accumulation of materials, nor the organization; not, that is, on a scale which even approached that which would be requisite.

Yet by 1900 the population had increased to 75,994,575, with a density of 25.6 per square mile. A considerable part, largely foreign-born, was available as a labor class. American capital was being reckoned in the billions and New York bankers were taking a leading place in the money markets of the world. Highly efficient business organization had been developed on an enormous scale. The value of manufactured goods produced each year had outstripped the annual value of the products of agriculture itself. The East, the West, even parts of the South were being rapidly covered by a bewildering mass of concrete, brick and steel structures, crudely ugly perhaps, but teeming with life and power. The United States had become a great industrial nation, very nearly the equal in wealth and power of any nation in the world. "The industrial story of the United States in the last fifty years is the story of the most amazing economic transformation that the world has ever known." Just as the story of the fifty years before that had been the story of the most amazing territorial expansion the world had ever known. In the industrial story, the nations of Europe had preceded us. While we pushed from the Alleghanies to the Pacific, and fought a civil war over the control of our acquisitions, England, France and (somewhat later) Germany had been going through their own process of industrial development. The result of the process seemed to be a machine-civilization, based on coal and iron for raw materials, with concentrated capital and a permanent labor class. By the middle of the century their development was well on its way; we remained largely a nation of pioneering farmers. But what neither they nor we ourselves knew was that the territory these farmers had secured contained a supply of the essential raw materials greater than that of the European countries themselves.

It has been estimated that France had, about 1914, some 16 billion tons of coal deposits; Great Britain had 190 billion tons; Germany 410 billions. France had no considerable iron deposits; Great Britain had 1,300 million tons; Germany 5,600 millions. Yet the United States contained some 1,975 billion tons of coal, and some 5,100 million tons of iron ore! To take from Europe itself much of the capital and labor necessary to develop this wealth, and to supply the initiative, energy and ingenuity which would make it possible to place ourselves on a par with the other nations—all in some thirty-five years—was the problem the United States faced in 1865 and solved by 1900. Its solution is the outstanding fact of our recent history.

The advance of the frontier was a great game, played on a great scale. From it seem to have come many of the distinctly American characteristics. Our study of this latter period will go for little, however, if it fails to bring out the fact that these same qualities applied to the industrial wealth of the American continent called forth another great game, played just as fiercely, just as ruthlessly, just as aggressively as the conquest of the wilderness itself—the game of American business development, the conquest of the wealth the wilderness had concealed. *The Passing of the Frontier,* in tracing the changes in the Far West, with all the incidents of cowboy, Indian, cattle-king, prospector and homestead farmer, brings to its conclusion the story which has perhaps meant more in romance and picturesque appeal to the average American of today than any part of his history—the story of the frontier. The social and economic significance of this change should be carefully noted.

The Railroad Builders. For the quick development of an industrial civilization the methods of the canal era were inadequate. For such a civilization the railroad was basic. American railroads did not, like those in most other countries, follow behind business development; rather did they precede and actually create it. The prairie country west of the Mississippi was once known as the "Great American Desert." While agriculture and mining could be carried on there, the nearest important markets lay hundreds of miles and hundreds of hours away. Then came the railroad, a "streak of rust" into the desert. The markets were now but tens of hours away; and west the settlers came by the thousands. The development of these food-producing regions made possible the concentration of hundreds of thousands of people into the factory towns and industrial cities of the East and Middle West. It became possible to build a steel factory in New York whose ore would come from Minnesota, whose coal would come from Pennsylvania, and whose products could be delivered in any city in the country within a week or two from their completion. No factor more than the railroad has enabled us to people the greatest part of a continent and to develop its resources, all in a few generations.

The Age of Invention. The transference of European civilization to

young America did not end with the colonial period. The nineteenth century in Europe was characterized by an amazing growth and development in natural science. Chemistry, physics, biology and geology were all pushed forward by a group of investigators that was threatening to become an army. The "age of science" had appeared. Such investigators must belong to a leisure class. Such a class could only make its appearance after capital had been accumulated in considerable quantities. During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century America was too poor to have a leisure class of any considerable size. There was not sufficient capital to subsidize great universities or research foundations. America was, therefore, largely dependent upon Europe for scientific investigation.

But in the practical application of scientific knowledge Americans proved peculiarly apt. Using the work of the scientists they invented the machines and methods upon which their new industrial civilization was being built with great ingenuity. The cotton gin, the reaper, the telegraph, the telephone and the aeroplane are only a few examples of American ability. With the growth of wealth and the concentration of capital, moreover, has gone subsidizing of research, and America from the child of European thought has become a partner in a world enterprise.

The Age of Big Business. In this book is the actual plot of the story of industrial expansion. It is the story of the business men themselves; their discovery of the natural resources, their application of the results of science and invention to the exploitation of the resources, and their development and actual creation of markets for their products by sales management, advertising, etc. In particular, it is here that we perceive the gradual development of new and efficient corporate forms of business organization. Proceeding more and more towards monopolistic control, with a consequent concentration of power, business finally tended to overreach itself and to become obnoxious, justly or unjustly, to the people at large. The resulting popular reactions, however, come under the head of politics, and are not considered here.

Our Foreigners. Along with the economic changes after the war went far-reaching social changes, changes in the character and composition of the American people themselves. For all parts of the country but the South, immigration probably played the largest part in the change. Perhaps no more vivid appreciation of the extent of the changes produced by this great folk-wandering is to be obtained than by reading, on the public monuments in any New England city, first the list of those citizens who fought in the Civil War, and then the names of those who fought under the same flag in 1917 and 1918. From 1865 to 1900 the American people was becoming more and more composite, a mosaic of many nationalities and races. The census statistics for 1910 show that the foreign-born whites formed 49 per cent of the total white population in Boston, 46 per cent in Chicago, 43 per cent in Philadelphia, 45 per cent in San

Francisco, 26 per cent in New Orleans, and 51 per cent in Greater New York. Three results of these changes should be noticed: first, the fact that in this immigration the business men found a labor class, inured to economic dependence, with which their new enterprises could be carried on; second, the fact that, especially in the cities, the presence of these newcomers created conditions unforeseen by those who had framed our political machinery, which might easily be exploited at the polls by unscrupulous politicians; third, a number of disturbing occasions such as the Mafia incident, the Haymarket riot, the disorders of the "Molly Maguires," etc., which, as symptoms of "undigested immigration," served to emphasize the fact that the problems of assimilating these legions of foreigners could not be neglected.

The Armies of Labor. Much of the subject-matter of this volume falls into the period after 1900. The first part, however, comes appropriately after a study of business development and of immigration. The first American labor-problem had been how to get labor. The South had tried the labor of slaves. The North had maintained a free-labor system, but had enormous difficulty in finding the number of laborers necessary. The labor of women and children, the development of labor-saving machinery, long hours of work—these formed the earliest expedients. Immigration, as we have seen, brought the first real solution, but it brought with it new problems. The native laborer had to meet the competition of those used to a lower standard of living than his own, and at the same time lost much of his old advantage in the fact that the employer had needed his services rather more than he had needed his particular job. The eighties brought both the start of a more definite organization of labor, in the national unions and the A. F. of L., and a tremendous increase in the number of strikes. On the whole, however, the employers seemed to have the best of it, especially as immigration shifted from northern to southern and eastern Europe, that is, to less intelligent peoples. But while the immigrants served to help break strikes, they also brought a new problem of how to get the maximum results out of fairly unintelligent labor, how to avoid slowing up the increase in production. One solution appears to have been a development of automatic machinery, the reduction of all human processes to a simple monotony of routine movements. But this, in its turn, only served to increase the discontent and thence the fighting organization of the native workers. The nation-wide strikes in which this discontent was expressed; the organization of certain types of the immigrants themselves in such groups as the I. W. W. with its extremist doctrines and violent methods; the changes that followed the almost complete cessation of immigration with the outbreak of the war in Europe—these are considered in connection with the period after 1900.

Date	*Population Growth*	*Immigration* (decade ending in year given)	*Railroad Mileage*
1860	31,443,321	.....	30,635
1870	38,558,371	2,314,824	52,914
1880	50,155,783	2,812,191	93,296
1890	62,947,714	5,246,613	163,597
1900	75,994,575	3,844,359	193,345

Date	*Bituminous Coal* (net tons)	*Pig Iron* (gross tons)	*Steel* (gross tons)	*Petroleum* (barrels)
1860	6,494,200	821,223	11,838	500,000
1870	17,371,305	1,665,179	68,750	5,260,745
1880	42,831,758	3,835,191	1,247,335	26,286,123
1890	111,302,322	9,202,703	4,277,071	45,823,572
1900	212,316,112	13,789,242	10,188,329	63,620,529

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLITICS, 1865-1900

It is difficult today to appreciate the extent to which American traditions and institutions of 1865 had been influenced by the self-sufficient American farmer. The Constitution, to be sure, had been the work of the commercial, legal and rather more aristocratic of the agricultural elements. But the new state governments of the West were the work of the frontier farmers, who crystallized the broad principles of the Constitution into a political machinery designed to meet their relatively simple needs. Under Jackson, it had been this group that had come to Washington and forced its new conceptions into the national government itself. On this agricultural democracy, the last half-century proceeded to superimpose an industrial machine-civilization. With it came a new inequality of the conditions of American life. The farmer saw his economic equality vanish as huge fortunes began to be drawn from business, and this by means he could not understand. Individual inequality was accompanied by a new inequality of institutions. Political institutions, such as state legislatures and the national congress, had formerly represented the greatest concentrations of power in America. To them had come the leaders of the people, the best brains of the country. But as the industrial development proceeded, the situation changed. In the states, the legislatures began to be dwarfed by their own creations, the business corporations. These could offer greater rewards to the ambitious; the new leaders turned from politics to business. The organization of the business institutions, moreover, was developed with no end in view but efficiency, practical results. The political organizations had grown up with little conscious direction; such accretions as the spoils

system and rotation of office had actually worked towards inefficiency. In wealth, power, leadership and organization, the corporations began to loom above the legislatures; and as corporations began to do business on a national scale, to become great monopolies, they came almost to rival the power of the national government itself. In one instance after another it became apparent that some business institutions, by actual bribery or more subtle "influence," were coming to control at least some individual members of the political institutions. So the farmer not merely saw his economic equality disappearing, but began to fear for his political equality as well. When we add to all this the fact that the period 1865-1900 was marked by a gradual fall in prices, which put the burden of economic pressure more acutely on the shoulders of the farmer than on any other class in the community, it seems inevitable that the outstanding political fact of the period must have been a farmers' reaction.

The traditional American method for expressing popular reactions is that of political parties and elections, based on the principle of majority rule for which a Civil War had been fought and won. One result of the war, however, had been to complicate and distort the party situation. The Republican party, the creation of the idealists of the fifties, had been in power during the war, and the election of 1864 had given it a leeway into the post-bellum period. The Democratic party bore, justly or unjustly, the stigma of disloyalty and opposition. Reconstruction served to emphasize these war-time distinctions long after peace had been secured. The real problems of the period that had commenced, however, were not to be problems growing out of the war. Much more were they to grow out of the economic questions of industrial expansion —its rapidity, its methods, its relation to the government and the people as a whole. Could two political parties whose membership at the start of the new period had represented a real expression of divergent opinion on the issues of the Civil War, be made to express whatever divergent opinions might come into being over business development? Was the party system flexible enough to achieve this feat? Or was the fact that many Americans inherit, rather than select, their political party, to nullify the function of a two-party system as a means of expressing divergence of opinion on any issues that might arise? If an American of 1880 were to vote one ballot or another chiefly because his father had voted the same ballot, and thus had brought him within the influence of the organization of his father's political party, it would be hard to trace any relation between his vote and his opinion on the issues of the day.

A real divergence of opinion, however, did grow out of industrial development, a divergence represented by the reaction of farmer against business man, the old against the new American ideals. Furthermore, one of the two parties, the Republican, did come to represent, to a large extent, the business man's point of view, the protective tariff

serving both as a cause for and a symbol of this fact. Would the Democratic party, the former "party of political evasion," the party which had stood against extension of the powers of the national government, come to represent the reaction of farmer to business man, in its opposition to its Republican rivals? As the two parties had once represented a different attitude towards the methods of territorial expansion, would they come to represent a similar difference over the methods of industrial expansion?

The first election after the war, in 1868, seemed to point to just such a party development. The Democratic platform, in its support of the "Ohio Idea," definitely appealed to the debtor vote, which was largely a farmer vote. But the old issues came in to complicate the situation; and partly due to the conviction of the northern voter that the success of the Democrats meant the success of those he had fought against, partly due to the control of southern politics by Republican leaders, the victory went to Grant. The election of 1872 was further complicated by the Liberal Republican Movement, directed against the corruption of the administration. This time the Democrats made no definite appeal to the farmer, but united with the Republican insurgents, only to meet defeat again. Finally, in 1876, the Democrats not only ran on a reform platform of their own, but secured a clear popular majority in the election. But again the issues of Reconstruction came in, and the control of three southern states by the Republicans gave them the victory. Cleveland brought the Democrats into control in the elections of 1884 and 1892, but by this time the farmers had little influence in the Democratic party. Cleveland himself was an Easterner, sympathetic on the whole to the business point of view.

To understand the significances of the forces which culminated in the election of 1896, we have to turn to the events, aside from national politics, in which a distinct farmers' reaction developed. For the farmer, 1870 to 1890 was a period of transition. His energies were concentrated in attacks on business through the control of the state legislatures over corporations (which the Supreme Court finally nullified by a reinterpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment); and in the formation of new movements in the West (such as the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, etc.) which later fused into the Populist party. By the early nineties, this latter movement assumed threatening proportions. Should it fuse with the Democrats, the election of an anti-industrial administration seemed inevitable. Everything turned on the issue which should be raised, the choice of a battle-cry. Free silver became the panacea of the farmers' reaction. Populists, Democrats and western Republicans united in the nomination of Bryan on this issue. Their reaction was a genuine one; they perceived real evils; but irony had given them a remedy which most business men and most men of education believed to be wrong. These latter classes, working through the matchless organization of the

Republican party, convinced the great middle class of small investors of the economic fallacy of free silver; the election went to McKinley; the problem of a readjustment of the political machinery went over to the twentieth century for solution.

Foreign politics for the period following the Civil War consists in a sequence of incidents with little apparent connection behind them. Even here, however, some clarity is to be gained in approaching the study of the incidents from the basis of the industrial growth that was taking place. The rise of internal commerce after 1815 had brought economic independence to the United States. It had not, however, raised us to the position of a world power. Economically independent, we were also economically inferior to the great European nations. It remained for the developments after 1865 to make us the economic equal of other world powers. This achieved, political equality, the right to an equal voice in any international question in which we might be interested, might follow, as the political independence expressed by the Monroe Doctrine had followed the actual achievement of economic independence.

Although the new commercial interests had threatened to and had actually involved us in disputes with other nations, we had nevertheless manifested a decided aversion to war as a means of settling the disputes, and, especially in our relations with Great Britain, the new method of arbitration had received our constant support. With Spain, however, we did prepare to fight in 1898. Our right to make our voice heard had been challenged. The Spanish nation denied that we were a world power, and much of Europe agreed. The words of McKinley met the challenge and marked the change; "The United States is not a nation to which peace is a necessity." Four months' fighting proved that he was correct. No nation could afford to disregard our claims to a voice, at least, in international settlements that concerned us in the period that was to follow. Finally, while the great majority of our people were unquestionably as reluctant as ever to see the United States involved in European affairs, the same war that proved our strength brought with it a group of new possessions which were bound to extend the scope of the international questions in which our interest might be involved.

The keynote of this interpretation of the period 1865-1900 has been economic. The course devotes one month to the analysis of a **great industrial and social change**, another to studying the political reactions which accompanied the change, in domestic and foreign politics alike. It must be constantly realized, however, that the fact that this can be done so exclusively is in itself a peculiarity of the period studied. What happened between these years was the accomplishment of carrying this country in thirty years through the whole process of **industrial development** for which the European nations had been taking a century. So **extraordinarily rapid and complete a change** could not fail to constitute the salient fact of the history of those years. It *was* preeminently an **economic his-**

tory. Every visitor from Europe commented on the fact. The common European conception was that we were a nation of money-getters. So part of us was indeed, and had to be, if the Herculean task we had assumed—the development of an empty continent—were to be accomplished within the period. That there were plenty of reactions to and even against this process, our study of politics will reveal. No sooner shall we reach 1900 than we shall come across the evidence of other reactions, social and intellectual, which had been gradually forming during the preceding period. While an analysis of the social and economic factors seems to be the most important basis for an understanding of the events of United States history since the Civil War, it must not be assumed that it is in social or economic factors alone that an explanation is to be found for history as a whole, even recent history—any more than in the intellectual or religious factors alone for such periods as the Rennaissance or the Reformation.

The Boss and the Machine. The theme of this book is the transformation of a political machinery which was intended to represent the will of the people into a machinery representing the will of a few individuals. Behind the control exercised by many of these individuals, or bosses, moreover, lurks the suspicion of financial motives coming very close to bribery and corruption. In addition to a degradation of politics for personal ends we perceive some business interests reaching out to turn the political machinery to their own advantage. Thus the points to be noticed are: (1) the clear revelations of a need for readjustment of politics and political institutions to meet the changed conditions of American life after 1865, and (2) the commencement of definite movements devoted to the end of such readjustment. For the period up to 1900 we notice that the main issue on which the early movements for political reform concentrated was that of Civil Service, an attack directed at one of the many means whereby the bosses had consolidated their control. Incidentally, it is in these pages that some explanation of the apparent failure of the party system to express the more real opinions of the people may be found.

Twenty Years of the Republic. The actual story of the sequence of political events and national elections is told in selections from this book, wherein the events are described in a racy, gossipy style which suggests the attitude of a contemporary observer. This book, used because of its vivid characterizations, is not one of the Chronicles. The same period may also be studied from a different angle in *The Cleveland Era.*

The Agrarian Crusade. This is the story of the politics of this period told from the farmer's point of view alone. Three different phases of the farmer's reactions should be distinguished: (1) the period covering the first decade or so after the war, in which the greenback and bond questions were selected by the farmer to express his reaction in national politics, (2) the intermediate period marked by the attacks on business

corporations through the farmers' control of state legislatures, and by a new tendency to group the discontented into reform organizations, (3) a resumption of the efforts to bring the farmers' demands into national politics, proceeding through the organization of the Populist party to the crisis in the election of 1896.

The Path of Empire. About two-thirds of this volume are devoted to the incidents of foreign affairs from 1865 to 1900. They should be read with a conscious effort to trace some continuity or development of policy behind the various incidents. Thus, in spite of the actual insignificance of many of the incidents, and the lack of a general concentration of attention upon them, they may be considered in the light of symptoms of the growing interest of at least a considerable number of Americans beyond their own shores. The problem is to relate this development to the successive foreign policies adopted by the various administrations.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, Ill., First Administration, 1869-1873.

Vice-president—Schuyler Colfax.

Election of 1868: Grant (Republican) 214 3,012,833 (309,584)
Seymour (Democrat) 80 2,703,249

1869 Completion of Union Pacific Railroad.
"Black Friday" scandal.
Knights of Labor founded.

1870 Failure of San Domingo Treaty.
Fifteenth Amendment (Negro Suffrage). Proposed 1869.
First Force Act.
Franco-Prussian War.

1871 Overthrow of Tweed Ring in New York.
Indian Reservation System.
Ku Klux Act (Second Force Act).
Treaty of Washington with Great Britain for settlement of Alabama claims by arbitration.

1872 United States gets rights to Pago Pago harbor in Samoan Islands.
Liberal Republican Movement.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, Second Administration, 1873-1877.

Vice-president—Henry Wilson.

Election of 1872: Grant (Republican) 286 3,597,132 (763,007)
Greeley (Liberal Republican and Democrat) 47 2,834,125

1873 Crédit Mobilier Investigation; Salary Grab; etc.
Omission of silver dollar from list of coins ("Crime of 73").
Panic of 1873.
Slaughter House Cases (Fourteenth Amendment).
Discovery of silver mines in Nevada.
Virginius Affair with Spain.

1874 Height of Granger Movement.
Railroad rate-war in East; start of pooling agreements.
Democratic Majority in Congressional elections. ("Tidal Wave of '74.")
412.5 grains of silver worth less than 100 cents on the market.
1875 Whiskey Ring; Belknap investigation; etc.
Civil Rights Bill.
Reciprocity Agreement with Hawaii.
1876 Resumption Act.
Sioux Indian War (Custer, Sitting Bull, etc.).
Bell Telephone.
Admission of Colorado.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, Ohio, 1877-1881.
Vice-president—William A. Wheeler.

			Rep. Count	*Dem. Count*
Election of 1876:	Hayes (Republican)	185	4,033,768	4,036,298
	Tilden (Democrat)	184	4,285,992	4,300,590
			(252,224)	(264,292)
	Cooper (Greenback)		81,737	

1877 March 2 Electoral Commission reaches decision.
Withdrawal of troops from the South (End of Reconstruction).
Railroad strikes.
Granger Cases (Munn vs. Illinois, etc.).
1878 Bland-Allison Silver Act.
First appearance of "Solid South" in Congressional elections.
1879 Resumption of specie payment for greenbacks.
Arrears of Pension Act.
Edison incandescent electric light.
1880 Start of surplus in Treasury; reappearance of tariff issue.
1880-1884 Development of the electric railway.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, Ohio, March 3-Sept. 19, 1881.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, N. Y., Sept. 19, 1881-1885.

Election of 1880:	Garfield (Republican)	214	4,454,416	(9,464)
	Hancock (Democrat)	155	4,444,952	
	Weaver (Greenback)		308,578	

1881 Star Route Frauds exposed.
Resignations of Senators Conkling and Platt.
July 2-Sept. 19 Assassination and death of Garfield.
1882 Standard Oil Trust organized.
Chinese Exclusion Act.

1883 Tariff of 1883.
Pendleton Act (Civil Service Reform).
Civil Rights Cases.
1884 National Bureau of Labor established.
Mugwump Movement.

GROVER CLEVELAND, N. Y., First Administration, 1885-1889.

Vice-president—T. A. Hendricks.

Election of 1884:	Cleveland (Democrat)	219	4,874,986	(23,005)
	Blaine (Republican)	182	4,851,981	
	Butler (Greenback)		175,370	
	St. John (Prohibition)		150,396	

1885 Start of trouble in Samoan Islands.
1886 Chicago strikes and Haymarket riot.
High-water mark of Knights of Labor.
American Federation of Labor established.
Santa Clara County Case; Wabash Railroad vs. Illinois (Fourteenth Amendment).
1887 Interstate Commerce Act.
Dawes Indian Land-in-Severalty Act.
Cleveland's tariff message.
1887-1888 Mills tariff bill debate in Congress.
1888-1889 Samoan crisis; hurricane; establishment of triple condominium.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, Ind., 1889-1893.

Vice-president—Levi P. Morton.

Election of 1888:	Harrison (Republican)	233	5,439,853	
	Cleveland (Democrat)	168	5,540,329	(110,476)
	Fisk (Prohibition)		249,506	

1889 Opening of Indian Territory (Oklahoma) to Settlement.
Admission of North and South Dakota, Montana and Washington.
First Pan-American Conference.
"Czar" Reed Speaker of the House.
1890 McKinley Tariff Act.
Sherman Silver Act.
Sherman Anti-Trust Law.
Dependent Pension Bill.
Admission of Idaho and Wyoming.
Democratic majority in Congressional elections.

1891 Forest Reserve Act (Start of Conservation Policy).
Start of People's or Populist Party.
Cleveland's Reform Club letter against free silver.
Mafia episode in New Orleans.
1892 Homestead strike.
Treaty with Great Britain submitting Bering Sea claims to arbitration (settled 1893).
Valparaiso riot during civil war in Chili.
1893 Revolution in Hawaii; provisional "Dole" government.

GROVER CLEVELAND, Second Administration, 1893-1897.

Vice-president—Adlai E. Stephenson.

Election of 1892:				
	Cleveland (Democrat)	277	5,556,543	(380,961)
	Harrison (Republican)	145	5,175,582	
	Weaver (Populist)	22	1,040,886	

1893 Cleveland withdraws treaty for annexation of Hawaii from Senate.
Panic of 1893.
Repeal of Sherman Silver Law.
Chicago "World's Fair."
1894 Jan. First sale of bonds for gold.
Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act.
Coxey's "Army."
Pullman strike.
Nov. Second sale of bonds for gold.
Publication of Coin's "Financial School."
Organization of Silver Movement.
1895 Supreme Court declares Income Tax unconstitutional.
Third sale of bonds for gold. Morgan-Belmont agreement.
Cleveland's Venezuela message.
Insurrection starts in Cuba.
1896 Fourth sale of bonds for gold, by popular subscription.
Admission of Utah.
Discovery of gold in Klondike region of Alaska.
Weyler's "Reconcentration Policy" in Cuba.
1897 Agreement to settle Venezuela-Great Britain dispute by arbitration (settled 1899).

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, Ohio, First Administration, 1897-1901.

Vice-president—Garret A. Hobart.

Election of 1896:			
McKinley (Republican)	271	7,111,607	(602,555)
Bryan (Democrat and Populist)	176	6,509,052	
Palmer ("Gold Democrat")		134,645	
Levering (Prohibition)		131,312	

1897 Dingley Tariff Act.
1898 "Grandfather Clause" in Louisiana.
Spanish American War.
Feb. 9 Publication of De Lome letter.
Feb. 15 Sinking of the *Maine*.
Apr. 10 News that Spain consents to armistice in Cuba.
Apr. 11 McKinley's message to Congress.
Apr. 19 Congressional Resolutions demanding Spanish withdrawal from Cuba.
Apr. 21 Spain severs diplomatic relations.
May 1 Dewey's victory at Manila Bay.
May 19 Cervera's fleet in Santiago Harbor.
June 24 Battle of Las Guasimas.
July 1-2 Battles of El Caney and San Juan.
July 3 Naval victory at Santiago.
July 7 Annexation of Hawaii.
July 15 Surrender of Santiago.
July 26 Miles lands at Porto Rico.
Aug. 12 Suspension of hostilities.
Aug. 13 Capture of Manila.
Dec. 10 Peace Treaty signed.
1899 First Hague Conference.
Start of Philippine Insurrection (Lasts till 1902).
1900 Gold Standard Currency Act.
Foraker Act; civil government in Porto Rico.
U. S. and Germany divide Samoan Islands.
Boxer Rebellion in China; United States participates in allied intervention; Open Door Policy.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES, 1900-1920

THE final period into which this course has been divided covers the first twenty years of the twentieth century. It is only on a very theoretical basis, indeed, that we approach these years at all. We cannot so much as characterize them with any certainty. They seem to be years of transition; but are they the last chapter of an old, or the first of a new era? We do not know. We can and shall attempt to analyze certain underlying factors and trace certain reactions, to isolate a few significant facts and try and pin them together. The result, however, will be less the exposition of a past that belongs to history than the attempt to formulate intelligent questions about a present and a future where history must wait to speak.

Much of the task consists in analysis, a search for the underlying factors. One great factor is, unquestionably, the continuation of the industrial process of the last half of the nineteenth century. American

business expansion did not slow up or stand still in 1900, but entered a career of vastly accelerated progress. Thus the annual value of manufactures produced increased from 4,831 million dollars in 1900 to 9,878 millions in 1915. Yet the total number of business concerns only increased from 207,514 to 275,791. We study many new business methods in operation. In part we find them to consist in more intelligent and persistent application of the results of modern science and invention. Thus the horsepower used each year increased from 10 millions in 1900 to 22.5 millions in 1915. In part, again, they seem to consist in improved organization, and the concentration of control in fewer and fewer hands. This becomes especially clear as we analyze the work of the great investment bankers and their control of capital. It is in this period that such terms as "scientific management" came into constant use; that the American engineer gained a reputation for intelligence, thoroughness and ability to produce results in the face of any obstacles. This reputation not only spread over this country, but, with the war, was extended to the entire world. The results of the recent American industrial development have been, among others, a great inequality in the distribution of wealth, whereby the millionaire became a billionaire; an enormous change in the conditions of daily life, with the universal development of luxury as a standard of even average American living; and finally, a sudden rise on the part of the nation from economic equality among the other world powers to a clear-cut economic world superiority. The World War hastened and completed the process. By the time of its conclusion we had made good the task of turning our superiority of natural resources into a superiority of actual accomplishment.

Another result of our analysis is the discovery of certain great changes in the lives of the American people as a whole. Inequality of wealth had been the first change; the influx of alien peoples another. By 1900, however, it had become apparent that still another change had been taking place, with the disappearance of the one fact which had gone so far to make American life different from that of the nations of Europe—the frontier and the free lands. For the great thing the frontier had meant had been equality of opportunity. There could be no permanent social classes while this existed. If the laborer had disliked the conditions of his work, he had but to move, to go West, to accept the government's gift of land, to make himself independent and his own master. That this could be done with practically no capital, no special training, no influence with or special favors from any special individual or institution, the experience of hundreds of thousands of pioneers and homesteaders amply proved. But by 1900 the conquest of the continent had been completed; the free lands largely taken up. The frontier was largely a thing of the past. The functions of safety-valve, melting-pot, practical school of democracy which it had fulfilled would have to be solved in another way, if they were to be solved at all.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, three factors in American development had become clear: the frontier as an economic, political and social force had passed forever; the giant city, created by commerce and industry, had become the most important single economic, political and social force in America; and a city-bred generation was reacting sharply against the artificiality of city life and was inaugurating an out-of-door movement. America had been an out-of-door nation throughout most of its history. Americans were now merely reasserting the fundamental instincts of an out-of-door people. This social revolution, for it is nothing less, is divided into two phases, the rise of sports and the camping movement. One after another, since the Civil War, sports have become nation-wide—baseball, rowing, football, tennis, golf and the rest. During the same interval, the mountains and the shores of America have filled up with vacation people. It is the games, the wild country and the ocean that prevent American life, nervous and hurried as it is, from burning itself out. It is not too much to say that the out of doors has become a much more effective safety-valve than the frontier. And, as America had become the greatest commercial and industrial nation so it became the greatest sporting nation.

The phase of American development which lies just ahead seems clearly to be an educational and intellectual development. The tremendous growth of university endowments and equipment, the great and very recent increase in the number of men and women attending institutions of higher learning, the use of trained experts in the late war, the use of college men to officer the army and the growing criticism of the colleges seem to point to an intellectual awakening which may be as far reaching in its results as the industrial development just studied.

Much of the analysis of this last period is contained in the remaining chapters of books already read in part. *The Armies of Labor, The Age of Big Business, The Age of Invention* and *"Our Foreigners,"* all deal with some twentieth century problems.

The Masters of Capital. While this volume starts with the period before 1900, the greater part of it deals with the subject which seems especially to characterize American business development after that date, the development of the modern financier. Just as our business development in the past century had been aided by the European labor made available by immigration, so also it had been largely dependent on European bankers for its capital. The start of many American banks came from representing this European capital in the American market. As profits increased, however, and on an ever growing scale, great accumulations of American capital made in particular businesses became available for the use of business as a whole. It is the story of how this new capital was used to continue and accelerate the general expansion of American industry that we read here. This means studying an abstruse subject, modern banking. It is the place and function of the so-called "investment

banker," however, in the larger process of business development with which we are concerned, not the technical subtilties of financial method. Finally, we have to note the extent to which finance, as well as other forms of business, tended to overreach itself, and to draw on itself, not wholly unjustly, a vast burden of popular disapproval.

The New South. In studying the industrial growth of the United States since 1865, there is a tendency to overlook the many special problems which this growth presented in that section which had sacrificed its prosperity in the effort to maintain an economic system of its own. Even when the significance of the race problem the South has had to face is appreciated, the significance of other social and economic problems may not be realized. The reorganization of cotton growing on a basis of free labor, the development of a cotton manufacturing industry in the South itself, the rebuilding of the shattered southern railroad system, the extension of the steel industry into Alabama—these are but special instances of the many difficulties faced and largely solved by the Southerners. In the reorganization of southern politics after the end of Reconstruction, moreover, we meet a perplexing problem still presenting many difficulties in the political life of the nation as a whole. With the readjustment of this section to the conditions of life in an industrial nation, our survey of the economic changes of the last half-century is completed.

The American Spirit in Education. The transition from an analysis of recent social factors to a study of recent political events may aptly deal with one particular factor which, in the hope of every college man at least, should make twentieth century politics different from those of the century before. The nineteenth century was a period of material expansion for America; a period of sharp transition, of meeting and overcoming obstacles; a period perhaps of national immaturity. Foreigners scoffed at what they believed the meanness and poverty of our culture. The Americans, said Carlyle, "have begotten, with a rapidity beyond recorded example, eighteen millions of the greatest bores ever seen in the world before—that hitherto is their feat in History." The wonder remains, however, that we found the time to devote to things of the intellect that we did. For however few poets or artists we produced, elementary and secondary education was being gradually extended through all the century, colleges were being founded and developed; the foundations for a more general experience of some part of the intellectual life were slowly being laid. Colleges for women, nearly unknown in any other nation, were created. And a few very great scholars and teachers (of whom Gibbs, Silliman, Dana and Sumner of Yale, were by no means the least) did their share in preparing the way for the expansion of interest in intellectual affairs that we are beginning to see today. If the student will supplement this volume with the *Education* and the *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres* (especially the former) of Henry Adams, he will find not

only a novel and rather bewildering point of view on this subject, but an actual experience of the possibilities of an American education which may serve to temper some of the author's irony; some, perhaps, of his own. This intellectual development may also be studied in *The American Spirit in Literature* (not used).

Date	*Population Growth*	*Immigration* (decade ending in year given)
1900	75,994,575	.....
1910	91,972,266	8,796,308
1920	105,683,108	5,405,911

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLITICS, 1900-1920

PARTY politics and political reactions in the last twenty years are very hard to analyze. We know little; there is always the danger that what we do know may be colored by our own opinions and prejudices. With so bewildering a maze of events, however, there is some advantage to be gained in an approach from the basis of tentative hypotheses. Such hypotheses are presented below, with such an aim. They do not pretend to be final, or even approximately true. Indeed, a test of the success or failure of this part of the course may lie in whether or not the student will be stirred to differ sharply with the point of view presented.

Two threads have been selected as possible clues to the maze. One of these may be found in the development of American world relationships. The Spanish War saw the beginning of the breakdown of the policy of international isolation that had grown out of the War of 1812 and had been formulated in the Monroe Doctrine. Moreover, the conflict with Spain had thrown into America's possession territory sufficient in importance to form the nucleus of an empire. This territory was inhabited by alien peoples and was climatically so located as to be unavailable, in the sense of California or Oregon, for settlement. It began to be feared that permanent dependencies had been saddled upon American democracy. Were imperialism and democracy compatible? Would the nation rid itself of the new empire or increase the size of that empire? The decision seemed to be to do the latter. Dependency after dependency both in the form of "protectorates" and of actual dependencies was added. The mailed fist of America quietly and without bloodshed turned the Caribbean Sea into an American lake; a chain of possessions was built up across the Pacific. "Yankee imperialism" became the bogie of Mexico and the peoples of the subtropical West Indies and Central America. In those regions the power of America was by far the most important factor to be reckoned with by every one of the supposedly independent nations and American power meant a strengthening of America's military and

naval position in the world and also the exploitation of the little developed resources of that region by American capital. The growth of the American empire continued without abatement until America's entry into the World War. Whither was the nation tending? What must be the result of grafting an empire upon a democracy?

The second thread that may help to clarify the confusion of the recent past is that of political reform. The reform movements after 1900 were quite different from those which culminated in 1896. The latter had been essentially a farmers' movement; it had groped through considerable ignorance towards its issues; and had actually selected as its most important issue a remedy which most educated men believed to be wrong. One change after 1900 consisted in adding a definitely intellectual element to the demand for reform. The growth of education in America; the new interest taken by the colleges in contemporary affairs; the growth of a magazine and newspaper press adequate to express whatever discontent might be found in these affairs—all these played their parts in the process. In the early years of the new century the famous "Muck-Raking" movement in the popular magazines, led by Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair and many others, served to mark the new alliance of intelligence and discontent. The results of this movement were chiefly apparent in a series of humanitarian reforms—better factory conditions, pure food laws, social settlement work, etc. It became more and more apparent, however, that even this kind of reform could not be carried very far without considerable readjustment of the political machinery. And, commencing largely with city and state governments, two general movements for political reform were developed. One was a movement towards bringing politics more fully under popular control, by such methods as the initiative, referendum and recall, the direct primary, woman's suffrage, etc. The other was concerned less with the increase of popular voting than with the efficiency of actual administration, as in the city manager plans, "commission government," etc. One was spectacular, with a popular appeal; the other was quiet, unspectacular, more akin to the methods of business, and hence perhaps under suspicion from the first. Alongside both these movements, of course, went the old American tendency to concentrate on the passing of laws as a solution for all evils, with much less concern for the practical working of the laws when passed.

Mr. Roosevelt's two terms were a period of generation for these reform movements. Not very much was actually accomplished in the way of putting these programs into effect in the national government; but the great achievement of the President was to typify the spirit of the whole reform movement in his speeches and his personality. "For seven years," it has been said, "he preached as no revivalist ever preached on this continent. . . . From Wall Street to the ranges of the West his sermons were heard not one but seven days a week." "Whatever his

motives, whatever his characteristics, Mr. Roosevelt became the mouthpiece of the second generation, the exponent of its ideas, and the leader of its reforms." The word "reform" came more readily every day to the lips of every citizen. In the dauntless courage of the President those imbued with the new ideas could find their inspiration. But in spite of conservation, the start of a real attempt to enforce the railroad and anti-trust laws, and many other reforms, the general inefficiency of national administration continued, and not many changes directed at the actual political methods and institutions themselves were apparent. Some of the very laws that went on the statute books proved difficult to enforce; the administrative and judicial details of reform were more or less overlooked and unheralded.

His successor, Mr. Taft, differed from Mr. Roosevelt in concentrating more on one of the reform movements, that of reform for efficiency. Under his guidance, commissions of experts were appointed to study the tariff, the currency and banking systems; an Economy and Efficiency Commission was created to study the whole system of national administration. Pending the recommendations of these commissions, the President planned to secure the best legislation he could under the existing political situation. But this was a difficult program to place before the people, eager for immediate and spectacular legislation; only the greatest political skill and the most fortunate circumstances would insure its success. Neither condition was fulfilled. Mr. Taft lost the people's confidence; the election of a Democratic Congress spoiled any chance of further legislation; the laws that had been passed and the work of the courts in carrying out the anti-trust and railroad laws were hardly noticed.

In 1912 the crisis came with the split of the Progressives from the Republicans under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt, and the crystallization of many reform elements into the Progressive party. It should be noticed that the split in the Republican Convention grew largely out of a dispute over the direct primary, one feature of that phase of the reform movements which leaned towards an extension of popular control; also, that the Progressive platform was largely made up of other features of that type of reform—the initiative, referendum, recall, etc., etc. But the election was lost to Progressives and Republicans as well. Mr. Wilson, himself a representative of the reform element, and nominated as such to catch as much of the reform sentiment as possible, succeeded to the difficult tasks of the presidency. The first two years of his administration, moreover, brought a series of reform laws never equaled in quantity, perhaps in quality, before. The issues of tariff and currency, among many others, were given almost for the first time solutions based on the advice of experts. But while Mr. Wilson concentrated on reform legislation, and developed the conception of presidential party leadership which helped make the passage of the laws possible, he seemed to turn

aside from the question of reform for efficiency of administration as completely as Mr. Taft had embraced it. He dismissed the board of tariff experts, only to find it necessary to reappoint them some years later. A distinct difference of attitude became apparent with Mr. Bryan's famous reference to "deserving Democrats" in connection with the consular service. Above all, the appointments to the Cabinet seemed based to an unusual degree on political rather than administrative grounds, and the complaint of inefficiency threatened to become very general. Again the concentration seemed one-sided, and the rumbling of popular dissatisfaction became apparent. But in 1914 came the war; in 1917 our own participation; and the whole situation was profoundly altered.

Among its other results, the war seemed to catch up the impetus behind many of the American reform movements and give them greater vigor. Mr. Wilson had given us reform legislation, but not administrative efficiency. How he would have followed up the start he had made if circumstances had remained the same, we cannot tell; for the war caught his interest as well as that of the rest of the nation, and turned it somewhat aside from our own political problems. What he did seem to do was, by building on the old American sentiment for peace, to fuse much of the general reform sentiment of the nation into his conception of a settlement for this war which should make future wars impossible. The war had split the Progressive party: some, following Mr. Roosevelt, concentrated on preparedness; many of the others followed Mr. Wilson. Step by step the latter group increased. With our entrance into the war, and with the single phrase "make the world safe for democracy," the liberal elements of the country with extraordinary unanimity swung behind the President. The movement for American reform was becoming a movement for international reform.

But at the same time, coincidence led to a reawakening of the old movement of reform towards efficiency which Mr. Wilson had tended to neglect. Under the strain of war, the political machinery nearly broke down. Incompetence and confusion reigned in Washington throughout 1917. While political friends and foes alike threatened to force a complete change in the conduct of the war, the passage of the Overman Act in May, 1918, made it possible for the President to effect practically a complete reorganization of the machinery of government to meet the need of war-making, which was none other than the need for efficiency itself. Already business organization had been centralized under the leadership of the Council of National Defense and the War Industries Board. Now a political organization, guided by successful engineers and business men, and centralized under the General Staff of the Army, worked hand in hand with this business organization, and all to the one end of practical results.

Thus November, 1918, brought not victory alone to the American people, but also the spectacle of a mighty fusion of the impulses towards

readjustment which had been developing since 1865. On the one hand, was the idealistic movement, directed towards an honorable, disinterested and permanent peace; on the other, the practical movement directed towards concrete results, which had taken Washington and shaken it into some semblance of efficient organization. As Mr. Roosevelt had typified the general reform sentiment before 1908 and the movement for reform by an increase in popular participation in the government in 1912, so Mr. Wilson had come to typify the more idealistic aspects of this general sentiment; and so, perhaps, we can take Mr. Hoover as a personification of the aspect of reform which had efficiency as its goal. It may be that November, 1918, represents, in a way, a climax to all our history. Possibly future historians will be able to use it as a turning point for historical periods which we can hardly suspect. . . . And then the Treaty of Versailles; the quarrel of President and Senate; the discontinuance of the war-time reorganizations; the leaderless confusion of reconstruction; the bitterness, the disillusion, perhaps the promise of 1920!

But the world had changed between 1914 and 1918. Europe, the originator and the centre of western civilization, had staggered almost into collapse. Before it was over, the war threatened European civilization with destruction. With all its cost it settled for a time the questions of central Europe and but little else. It did not remove the danger of another war. The same nations still held the same old points of view embittered now by many new grudges. Europe slipped back to the pre-war methods—diplomatic maneuvers and a balance of power. America sent a chill of fear to the hearts of many European liberals by ignoring the League of Nations, in many minds the one solution. Under the circumstances, without even a United States of Europe, perhaps the day of Europe is passing. New powers—imperial America, the new British Empire, imperial Japan and imperial France—face a new world. World interests no longer centre in the Atlantic alone; the minds of thinking men are also upon the Pacific. The past history of America has been the story of the development of power surpassing any in the world; the future history must be the narration of the use of that power for good or evil on the earth.

Theodore Roosevelt and His Times; Woodrow Wilson and the Great War. These books which, together with the final chapters of *The Path of Empire,* deal with the political history of this last period, need little introduction. The problems of time, space, interpretation and knowledge of the truth that any such books must face are obvious. The student should endeavor to gain as accurate a conception as possible of the personalities of the leaders in these years, and he should try to understand the domestic and foreign issues they had to meet. The object of these books is to build a framework of events in the immediate past

which will help to an understanding of the present and may suggest some of the possibilities of the immediate future.

The Canadian Dominion (not used) outlines the history of our greatest neighbor. *Our Hispanic Neighbors* (not used) suggests some of the foreign problems of America.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, Second Administration, March 3-Sept. 14, 1901.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, N. Y., First Administration, Sept. 14, 1901-1905.

Election of 1900:

McKinley (Republican)	292	7,219,525	
Bryan (Democrat)	155	6,358,737	(860,788)
Woolley (Prohibition)		209,157	
Debs (Socialist Democrat)		94,864	
Malloney (Socialist Labor)		33,432	

1901 Sept. 6-14 Assassination and death of McKinley.
United States Steel Corporation.
Northern Securities Company.
Wireless messages sent across Atlantic.
Platt Amendment (Cuba).
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain.

1902 Anthracite coal strike.
Newlands Reclamation Act (Conservation).
Withdrawal of United States troops from Cuba.
Decision on canal route through Panama.
Philippine Act; civil government.
Blockade of Venezuela; United States threat to Germany.

1903 Ida Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company."
Department of Commerce and Labor; Bureau of Corporations.
Elkins Railroad Act.
General Education Board.
Wright Aeroplane.
"Millionaires' Panic."
Settlement of Alaskan boundary dispute with Great Britain by arbitration.
Hay-Herran Treaty with Colombia.
Aug. 12 Rejection of treaty by Colombian Senate.
Nov. 3 Revolution in Panama.
Nov. 6 United States recognizes Republic of Panama.
Nov. 18 Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty with Panama.

1904 Dissolution of Northern Securities Company ordered by Supreme Court.
Publication of "The Shame of the Cities," by Lincoln Steffens.
Completion of Pacific Cable.

San Domingo agreement (treaty signed 1907).
Failure of arbitration treaties with France, Germany, Great Britain due to Senate amendments.

1905 Treaty of Portsmouth (End of Russo-Japanese War).

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Second Administration, 1905-1909.

Vice-president—Charles W. Fairbanks.

Election of 1904:	Roosevelt (Republican)	336	7,628,785	(2,544,343)
	Parker (Democrat)	140	5,084,442	
	Debs (Socialist)		402,895	
	Swallow (Prohibition)		258,950	
	Conegan (Socialist Labor)		33,490	

1905 Industrial Workers of the World ("I. W. W.").
Life Insurance Investigation, N. Y., Hughes.
1906 San Francisco earthquake.
Campaign Fund Act.
Hepburn Railroad Act.
Publication of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*.
Pure Food Law.
Reoccupation in Cuba (till 1909).
United States participates in Algeciras Conference.
1907 Second Hague Conference.
Panic of 1907.
Admission of Oklahoma.
Navy starts round the world (return in 1909).
1908 Conservation conference of governors.
Aldrich-Vreeland Currency Act.
Failure of arbitration treaties due to Senate amendments.

WILLIAM H. TAFT, Ohio, 1909-1913.

Vice-president—James S. Sherman.

Election of 1908:	Taft (Republican)	321	7,678,908	(1,269,908)
	Bryan (Democrat)	162	6,409,104	
	Debs (Socialist)		420,793	
	Chafin (Prohibition)		253,840	

1909 Payne-Aldrich Tariff.
Start of Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy.
Rise of Republican Insurgents.
Winona Speech.
1910 Mann-Elkins Railroad Act.
Commerce Court.
Campaign Fund Act.
Economy and Efficiency Commission.

Bureau of Mines.
Roosevelt's Osawatomie speech ("New Nationalism").
Democratic majority in Congressional elections.
Reduction of powers of Speaker of the House (Cannon).
Dynamiting of *Times* Building, Los Angeles.
1911 Formation of National Republican Progressive League (La Follette).
Dissolution of Standard Oil and American Tobacco Trusts.
Canada rejects Reciprocity Treaty.
Veto of Underwood tariff bills.
Failure of comprehensive arbitration treaties with France and England due to Senate amendments.
Madero revolution ousts Diaz in Mexico.
1912 Admission of New Mexico and Arizona.
Alaskan Organic Act.
Panama Tolls Act.
Lawrence strike.
Pujo Committee "Money Trust" investigation.
Feb. Appeal of the seven Governors to Roosevelt.
Roosevelt becomes a candidate for the Presidency.
July Split at the Republican Convention.
Aug. 5 Formation of Progressive Party.
Chinese revolution; Six Power Loan.
1913 Feb. Murder of Madero; Huerta assumes power in Mexico.
Sixteenth Amendment (income tax). Proposed 1909.

WOODROW WILSON, N. J., First Administration, 1913-1917.

Vice-president—Thomas R. Marshall.

Election of 1912:

Wilson (Democrat)	435	6,293,019	
Roosevelt (Progressive)	88	4,119,507	
Taft (Republican)	8	3,484,956	
Debs (Socialist)		901,873	
Chafin (Prohibition)		207,928	
Reimer (Socialist Labor)		29,259	
Wilson majority over Roosevelt			2,173,512
Taft-Roosevelt majority over Wilson			1,311,444

1913 Colorado coal strike.
Underwood Tariff Act.
Federal Reserve Act (Glass-Owen Act).
Newlands Act.
Seventeenth Amendment (Direct election of Senators). Proposed 1912.
California landholding bills.